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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. VI.

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CHAP. XXIII.

A Description of the Countries contained in the Hither Peninsula of India.

SECT. I.

General Division and History of this Peninsula.

General division and history.

THIS great peninsula, in its largest extent, is bounded on the north by an east and west line, drawn from the Gulf of Kambaya to the mouth of the river Ganges, and on the three other sides by the ocean. Within these limits are contained several spacious countries, namely, the provinces of Bâglâna, Ballagâte, and Tellingâna, or Telenga, all comprehended under the general name of Balagâtte; the kingdom of Visiapûr, which, with the other three provinces, are comprised under the name of Dekkan; the kingdoms of Golkonda, and Orisha or Orixa; the kingdom of Karnâta or Karnatek, a part of which was formerly called Bîsnâgar, and Narsinga; the kingdoms of Messûr, Madûra, Marava, and Tanjaor; lastly, the kingdoms of Kanâra and Malabâr.

For many ages these countries were governed by their own râjahs, or kings; but since the Mohammedans got

footing in Hindûstân, they have undergone various revolutions: of these, however, we have as yet very imperfect accounts. The first expedition we meet with into this peninsula, is that of Mahmûd Shâh king of Dehli, surnamed Nasro'ddîn, who ascended the throne in the year 1264, and is famous for his great conquests over India [a]. We are told that this prince, descending from the north with a powerful army, conquered all the Hindûs as far as the kingdom of Kanâra, with part of the country possessed by the ancestors of the king of Bîsnâgar. Then returning to Dehli, he left Habed Shâh to prosecute his conquests. This general, by his conduct and valour, became so great, that he coped with his master. His nephew Madûra following his good fortune, possessed himself of the kingdom of Kanâra, and casting off his allegiance to the king of Dehli, gave to his new-founded dominion the name of Dekan, or Dekkan, from the various kinds of people whereof his army, which conquered it, was composed; for Dekkan signifies *bastards*. Then dividing his territories into eighteen parts, he gave the government of them to so many of his slave-commanders, obliging each of them to build a palace at Bedir, which was his royal seat, and leave his son behind for hostage. In process of time the number of those governors diminishing, they who remained grew more powerful, while the king of Dekan had scarce any thing left more than his capital city and the name. In short, when the Portuguese arrived first in the Indies in 1498, there were in Dekan only seven descendants of those usurping slaves; whose names, or titles, were Nizamuluk, Madremaluk, Mâlek Veridi, Kosa Mokadam, Abeshjapado, or the Abyssine eunuch, Kota Maluk, and Sabay; which last was at that time lord of Goa. This prince deceasing about the time when Albuquerque formed his design against that city, in 1510, Kufo Hidalkan possessed himself thereof, and put it into the hands of his son Ismael [b].

Dekan kingdom founded.

[a] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 289. art. Deheli. [b] Feria y Sousa Port Asia, vol. i. cap. 5. p. 163, & Juan de Barros.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Empire of Bisnâgar.

THIS kingdom, called Bisnâgar, from the capital city, and Narsinga from the name of one of its râjahs or kings, bounded Dekan on the south; and was at the time of the abovementioned revolution, or soon after, the most rich, potent, and extensive monarchy in the Indies, comprehending almost all the countries in the peninsula south of the sixteenth parallel: for, besides the large kingdom of Karnâta or Karnâtes, the hereditary dominion, and body of the empire, it contained the kingdoms of Kanâra, Messowr, Travankor, Madûra, Marava, and Tanjaor; in short, all that vast region washed on three sides by the ocean, was subject to the king of Bisnâgar, excepting that part of Malabâr which belongs to the Zamorîn or king of Kalekut [c]. The inhabitants were Pagans, and called Badagus, as are those of Karnata at present: they spoke the Tamul or Damul language, which is the same with the Malabaric; but the Badagun was used at court. *Empire of Bijnágar.*

The city of Bisnâgar lies eight days journey from Goa, and six from the diamond mines. Cæsar Frederic, who was at this capital of Narsinga in 1567, represents it as a very great city, twenty-four miles in compass, whose walls, including certain hills, were washed by the river Nigondin. The buildings were all of earth, excepting the pagods, and three palaces. Of the many courts of kings which this traveller had seen, none could compare with that of Bisnâgar, for the grandeur of the palace, which had five courts leading to it, with each a gate, and guards. But when Frederic was there, the city was destitute of people, although the houses were standing; the place having been sacked two years before. *City of Bisnâgar.*

According to the Portuguese writers, the kingdom of Charnataka had no sovereign prince till the year 1200: it began then in Boka, a shepherd, who styled himself rau, or râjâh, that is emperor; which title has descended to all his successors. Boka, in memory of a victory which he obtained over the king of Dehli, built the famous city of Visajanâgar, corruptly called Bisnâgar. The crown continued in his line till it was usurped by Narsinga, from *History of Bisnágar.*

[c] De Faria, vol. i. p. 95, & seqq. vol. ii. p. 83, 142.

whom this kingdom took its name, as well as that of Bisnâgar from the city [d].

Khrisna Râjah. Whatever the king of Bisnâgar might have lost by the usurpation of the Mohammedan governors beforementioned, yet we find him still a very powerful prince about the year 1520: for Khrisna Râjah, the then king, resolving to take the city of Rachol from Adel Khân of Viziapûr, as having belonged to his ancestors, he covered the hills and plains with an army of thirty-five thousand horse, and seven hundred and thirty-three thousand foot: besides these, were five hundred and eighty-six elephants, carrying castles each, twelve thousand water-carriers, and twenty thousand common women. As Rachol was very strongly fortified, stored with artillery, and garrisoned by eight thousand four hundred men, of which four hundred were horse, the rajâh could not take it by assault in three months; at the end of which Adel Khân coming to its relief with eighteen thousand horse, one hundred and twenty thousand foot, one hundred and fifty elephants, and much heavy cannon, a battle ensued. At first Khrisna Râjah was worsted; but rallying, he charged with such fury, that very few escaped the sword or captivity. Among the slain were forty Portuguese, in the service of Adel Khân. The principal booty consisted of four thousand horses, one hundred elephants, four hundred great cannon, and other riches.

His vast forces.

Defeats Adel Khân. As Khrisna Râjah returned in a rage against Rachol, Christopher de Figureda with twenty Portuguese, brought some Arabian horses, in order to sell them to that prince; who discoursing about the siege, Figureda, after being permitted to view the place, undertook to reduce it: accordingly, in the second assault, the city was forced. Khrisna, elated by this victory, when Adel Khân's officers came to beg the booty taken in the former battle, he answered, that it should be restored, provided Adel Khân would come and kiss his foot, as supreme lord of the empire of Kanâra. This base condition was accepted, but the execution prevented by several accidents [e].

Rama Rajah spares Meliapûr. After this, we meet with no dispute between the two kings for many years. At length, about 1558, a Portuguese, of the city of Meliapûr, or St. Thomas, on the coast

[d] De Faria, ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 118.

[e] De Faria, vol. i. p. 236, & seqq.

of

of Choromandel, perſuaded Râma Râjah, then king of Biſnâgar, to march againſt that city; telling him, the plunder would be worth two millions; and that it would be of great ſervice to the images in the pagods, which were there thrown down by the Chriſtians. The king following this advice, began his march with five hundred thouſand men. Peter de Atayde encouraged the inhabitants to defend themſelves; but they, being ſeized with conſternation, ſaid, it was reaſonble that the king ſhould be admitted to enjoy his own. In conſequence of this declaration, Atayde proceeded to Goa; and the townſmen, preparing for the king's reception, ſent him a preſent of four thouſand ducats, wherewith he was in ſome degree appeaſed. He encamped without the city, but ordered all the inhabitants of both ſexes, with all their effects, to be brought into his preſence; when he found that the whole value of their ſubſtance did not exceed eighty thouſand ducats. Enraged at the wickedneſs of the informer, the king ordered him to be thrown to the elephants, who tore him in pieces. After which execution he diſmiſſed the citizens, and reſtored all their goods ſo punctually, that only a ſilver ſpoon happening to be miſſing, it was ſought for, and returned to the owner[f].

Biſnâgar attacked and deſtroyed. A.D. 1565.

Biſnâgar was about this time reſorted to by merchants from all parts, as being the greateſt, if not the only mart for diamonds, in the Eaſt. Its riches were equal to its great extent. This happy ſtate of the kingdom exciting the jealouſy of the kings of Dekân, namely, Nezâmo'lmuluk, Adel Shâh, and Kothb Shâh, they entered into a league to ruin it entirely: for this purpoſe they took the field with fifty thouſand horſe, and three hundred thouſand foot. Rama Rajula, the king of Biſnâgar, met them with double that number, and had the advantage at firſt; but fortune changing, he loſt his life, at the age of ninety-ſix; and the enemy were victorious. They ſpent five months in plundering the capital, although the inhabitants had, in three days, carried away one thouſand five hundred and fifty elephants, loaded with money and jewels to the amount of above one hundred millions of gold; beſide the royal chair for ſtate days, the price of which could not be eſtimated. Nevertheleſs Adel Shâh found a diamond, as big as an ordinary egg, on which the feather of the late king's horſe uſed to be fixed; likewiſe a

[f] De Faria, p. 194, & ſeqq.

second, of an extraordinary size, though not so large as the first; besides other jewels, of an incredible value. After the aged râjah's misfortune, the kingdom of Bisnâgar was divided among his sons and nephews. This dissolution of the monarchy proved extremely hurtful to trade, which, in that year, was reduced to a very low ebb [g].

Revolution there. Cæsar Frederic says that Râma Rajah was not the lawful sovereign, but an usurper, who detained the rightful king in prison. He, with his brothers, Timi Rajah and Bengâter, were commanders under the former king; who dying thirty years before, and leaving his son very young, the three brothers seized the government; Râma Râjah assumed the title of king; Timi Râjah undertook to manage the affairs of state; and Bengâter was made general of the army. As for the king, they kept him prisoner, and only shewed him to the people once every year. These brothers were all in the late battle; from which Timi Râjah only escaped, with the loss however of one of his eyes. Upon the defeat, the wives and children of the three tyrants fled from Bisnâgar, together with the prisoner king. Afterwards Timi Râjah returning to the city, began to repeople it. He likewise sent to invite the merchants at Goa, and other places, to bring him horses, promising to pay a good price for them; but when he had assembled a great number by these promises, he dismissed the owners, without giving them any thing for their cattle.

New troubles. In 1567, the king, displeased with Bisnâgar, on account of the late misfortune, removed with his court, to reside at Penegonda, a castle eight days journey farther within land. We learn nothing more concerning the affairs of Bisnâgar from Cæsar Frederic, excepting that the son of Timi Râjah put to death the lawful king, with design to remove all obstacles to the throne; but that the grandees would not acknowlege him for king. Hence arose great distractions; so that in a little time the country became divided among many princes, who set up for sovereigns [h].

Kingdom at rest. In 1597, we find the provinces of Bisnâgar united again under one king, named Wentakapati. Whether he was of the race of the former kings, or the founder of a new

[g] De Faria, p. 252, & seqq.

[h] Cæsar Frederic's Voy. ap. Purchas, vol. ii. p. 1704, & seqq.

dynasty,

dynasty, we know not: all we learn from authors is, that he kept his court at Chandegri, an inland city, exceedingly strong by nature, and defended by a castle built in the midst of it, so that it was reckoned impregnable; that his ancestors reigned as far as Goa and cape Komori; but that lately the Naïks of Travankor, Madûra, Tanjaor, and Jinji, had thrown off his yoke [1].

It invaded again, and quite destroyed.

From this time nothing of moment occurs in authors, relating to the affairs of Bisnâgar, till the entire ruin of that large monarchy, which happened about the middle of the last century. In order to explain the occasion of this great revolution, it will be necessary to look back to the affairs of Dekan, and see what was doing on that side. The descendants of the three kings, Nezâm Shâh, Adel Shâh, and Kothb Shâh, maintained their possession as long as they preserved a friendly union, and assisted one another against the Mogols, who frequently made war upon them: but when that good understanding began to cease, they found the bad effects of their divisions; for their potent enemies watching the opportunity, about the year 1627, possessed themselves, within a short time, of all the country belonging to Nezâm Shâh, the fifth or sixth descendant of the first slave [k]; containing the provinces of Balagat, Telenga and Baglana [l], and at length took him prisoner in Dowlet-abâd, his capital, where he died. Some years after this event, Aureng Zîb, being made governor of Balagât, invaded the territories of Adel Shâh, king of Visiapûr, who immediately applied to the king of Bisnâgar for succour: but that râjah neglecting to furnish his ally with troops, the Mogols took Bider, Parânda, and other considerable cities. This loss so exasperated Adel Shâh, that, making peace with Aureng Zîb in 1650, he entered into a league with the king of Golkonda against the prince of Biznâgar, whom they vigorously attacked, and at last stripped of his dominions. Kothb Shâh seized the provinces along the coast of Choromandel, while Adel Shâh, having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquests; seized Velûr, then the capital city, with Jenji, and several other towns of Karnâta, as far as Porto Novo, and cape Nega Patan. As for the unfortunate râjah, he fled into the mountains, where he remained in 1667, when

[1] Epist. de Reb. Japan & Indic. ab Hayo. Collect. p. 774, 803. & seqq. [k] Bernier, part. ii. p. 160. [l] Thev. Trav. third part, ch. ii. p. 91.

Therenot, was on his travels. Thus was an end put to the kingdom of Bisnâgar, which about twenty years after fell under the power of the Mogols, by the conqueſt which Aureng Zîb made of the kingdoms of Viſiapûr and Golkonda.

SECT. III.

Of the Countries compriſed in the Kingdom of Dekan, or Dekkan.

Bâglâna, Balagât, and Telenga, deſcribed.

Province of Balagât. THE province of Balagât, properly ſo called, is the largeſt of the three which compoſed the northen Dekan: it has Khândîſh and Berar, in the Mogol's empire, to the north; Tellinga, to the eaſt; Bâglâna, with part of Guzerât, to the weſt; and Viſiapûr to the ſouth. This province, ſince it fell into the hands of the Mogols, had taken the name of Dowlet-abâd, from its former capital. It is a fruitful pleaſant country, abounding with cotton and ſugar: the chief city at preſent, called Aureng-abâd, is very extenſive, yet has no walls. The governor, who is commonly a prince, reſides there, as did Aureng Zîb in the time of his father. The houſes are moſtly of free-ſtone, and pretty high, with pleaſant gardens, and trees planted before the doors.

Dowlet-abâd. Dolt-abâd, or Dowlet-abâd, is two leagues and a half northward of Aureng-abâd, and was the capital of Balagât, before the Mogols conquered it: it belonged to Dekan, and was a place of great trade, which Aureng Zîb removed to the preſent metropolis. The city is much longer than broad, extending from eaſt to weſt; it is walled with free-ſtone, and has battlements and towers mounted with cannon; it is reckoned the ſtrongeſt place in all Hindûſtân, on account of an oval hill within the town, environed at the bottom with a wall of natural rock, defended by three forts, and having at top a ſtrong citadel, with the king's palace.

Pagods of Elora. At the diſtance of three leagues from Dolt-abâd are the famous pagods of Elora, ſtanding in a plain about two leagues ſquare: in this ſpace there are a great number of tombs, chapels, and ſpacious temples, full of pillars and pillaſters, with many thouſand figures, cut out of

of the natural rock. It is a ſtupendous work, ſurpaſſing in appearance human efforts; though the architecture and ſculpture is not very delicate [m].

Tilingâna, or Telenga.

Telenga, Tillinga, or Tillingâna, lies on the eaſt of Ballagât Proper, ſouth of Berar, and weſt of Golkonda, having alſo Golkonda and Ballagât on the north; it was formerly the principal province of Dekan, and reached as far as the Portugueſe lands towards Goa: but ſince the Great Mogol became maſter of the northern parts of this country, with the towns of Beder and Kalion, it has been divided between him and the king of Dekan, who is only ſtyled king of Viſiapûr, or Vijapûr, and is reckoned among the provinces of Hindûſtân: it has on the eaſt Golkonda, on the weſt: Baglâna and Viſiapûr, on the north Balagât, and on the ſouth Biſnâgar.

The capital at preſent is Beder, or Bedr, which belonged to Balagât when it had kings, and for ſome time to Dekan. This is a great city, encompaſſed with brick walls, which have battlements and towers mounted with huge cannon, ſome three feet wide in the bore. Here is commonly a garriſon of three thouſand horſe and foot, with ſeven hundred gunners, as being a frontier againſt Dekan. The governor lodges in a caſtle without the town, and makes conſiderable advantage of his poſt. The Hindûs are no where more ſuperſtitious than in this province. It has a particular language, called the Telenga, which ſome imagine to be the ſame with the Kanâri.

Bâglâna.

Bâglâna, or Buglâna, has on the north Guzerât and Ballagât, on the eaſt this laſt province, and on the ſouth and weſt that part of Viſiapûr, called Konkan, belonging to the Mâharâttas: it ends in a point at the ſea coaſt between Daman and Balſera; it is the leaſt of all the provinces of which the Mungl empire conſiſts, and its capital is called Mouler. The Portugueſe territories begin in this province at the port of Daman, twenty-one leagues ſouth of Surât, and run along the coaſt by Baſſaim, Bombay, now belonging to the Engliſh, and Cawl to Dabûl, almoſt fifty leagues to the north of Goa [n].

[m] Thevenot, ubi ſupra, p 72, & ſeqq. [n] Ibid. p. 182, & ſeqq.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Kingdom of Viſapûr, or Viſiapûr, deſcribed.

Kingdom of Viſiapûr. THE kingdom of Viſapûr, called by the Mogols Bijapûr, is bounded on the eaſt by Karnâta, from which it is ſeparated by the mountains of Gâte, on the weſt by the ſea, on the north by the provinces of Bagjâna and Balagât, and on the ſouth by Karnâta and the kingdom of Kanâra: theſe were its bounds before the deſtruction of the empire of Biſnâgar in 1667, when it was divided between its king and the ſovereign of Golkonda, by a line drawn from the borders of Viſiapûr, to the coaſt of Choromandel, north of Porto Novo, which fell to the ſhare of Adel Shâh, with the coaſt to cape Negapatan. Within land he had Velowr, then the capital of Karnâta, Jinji, and other conſiderable cities, his dominions being bounded on the ſouth by the Naïk of Madûra. After the extinction of the kingdom of Nezâm Shâh, who reigned in the Balagât provinces, the title of king of Dekan paſſed to him, as being poſſeſſed of all that remained of it; but by the removal of that barrier, through the neglect of him and the king of Golkonda, his power daily declined, and the Mogols gained ground, till at length they became maſters of Viſiapûr in 1685.

The capital city. The capital of this country is the city of Viſiapûr (A), from whence the kingdom took its name: it is about four or five leagues in compaſs, fortified with a double wall, on which are many cannon mounted, and a flat-bottomed ditch: the king's palace is a vaſt pile in the middle of the town, encompaſſed with a ditch, full of water, wherein are ſome crocodiles. To the city belong ſeveral large ſuburbs, full of goldſmiths and jewellers ſhops, yet it has but little trade. Beſides this capital, there are many other conſiderable cities in the kingdom, with three or four ports, namely, Dabul, Râjahpûr, Karapatân, and Vingûrla °.

The coaſt of Viſiapûr, or Konkan, is in a manner divided between the Portugueſe and the Hindû ſtates lately

° Thevenot, ibid. p. 92. Tavern. part. ii. p. 72.

(A) Situated on the river Mendoua, and in the latitude of 17° 30′. P. Bouchet ap. Lett. Edif. tom. xv. p. 58.

erected

erected in those quarters. About four miles south of the river Seragoung, which separates them from the Great Mogol's dominions, lies Damân, twenty-two leagues south of Surât: this city was formerly a place of good trade, but now reduced to poverty; it belonged to the Portugese till about the year 1740, when it fell, with the rest of their possessions between Surât and Goa, into the hands of the Mâharâttas, or Marats. It stands at the mouth of a river, about three quarters of a mile from the sea shore, and is rendered very strong by a deep marsh which surrounds it; it is about half a mile long, and near as broad, fortified with a good stone wall; the houses are built of the same materials; the streets are not paved, but very strait, and all very neat: it has six churches, a convent, monastery, nunnery, and an hospital; also a fort on the opposite side of the river, garrisoned with four hundred men, of which the Portuguese were more careful than of any other they had in the Indies. *City of Damân.*

Bassaim stands about eighteen leagues from Damân, and half way lies Trapor, or Tarapor, a small but very rich city, when under the Portuguese, and dependent on Damân. Bassaim is about two miles in circumference, inclosed with a wall, but its fortifications are slight. The churches were very magnificent, the market-place is large and handsome, the streets are clean and regular; it is divided from the island of Sâlset by an inlet of the sea, which washes the walls, and affords a harbour for small ships, but is too shallow to admit any of great burden; it was a place of small trade, because most of its riches lay buried in their churches, or in the hands of indolent country gentlemen, who loitered away their days in ease, without having the least sense of the poverty and calamity of their country. There lived more gentry in and about this place than at Goa itself, whence the Portugese proverb, Fidalgos of Bassaim: in short, it was one of the most considerable places the Portuguese had; the governor being styled General of the North, having under him Diu, Damân, and Chawl, with all their territories. *Trapor and Bassaim.*

The island of Sâlset is about twenty-five miles long, and in some parts ten broad. It was stocked with villages and churches when the Portuguese possessed it; but has no city, excepting one, called Kanra, hewn out of the side of a rock with many antique figures and columns, curiously carved, besides several good springs of water [p]. About *Sâlset isle.*

[p] Hamilton's New Account of East Ind. vol. i. p. 178, & seqq.

seven

seven leagues south-east of Bombay is Chawl, a town fortified by the Portugese, and formerly a noted place for trade, now become miserably poor. Seven leagues still more south is Dandî Râjahpûr, a town belonging to the Siddî, who generally lies there with a fleet of the Great Mogol's vessels and ships of war, besides an army of thirty or forty thousand men. This place also affords a good harbour, and the adjacent country feeds store of black cattle, from whence the English at Bombay are mostly supplied, when they keep in good terms with the Siddî, otherwise he makes them feed on fish. There is a rock within a league northward of the mouth of the river, fortified by Sevaji, as are two little isles, called Horney Coat, opposite to the river of Zeferdan.

Dandi Rajâhpûr.

Dabul. Five leagues to the southward of this last place stands Dabul, at the mouth of a large river; of old a place of trade, where the English had a factory. There is an excellent harbour, called Sangusîr, eight leagues to the south of Dabul; but the country, being inhabited by robbers, is not frequented. This is also the case with Râjahpûr, seven leagues farther down, although it has one of the best harbours in the world, and had formerly both an English and French factory.

Râjahpûr.

Ghiria. Ghiria, the common residence of Konnajî Angaria, (Angria), lies about two leagues to the south of Râjahpûr, and is well fortified by a strong large castle, washed by the sea. Twelve leagues more southward is Malwan, an isle, two miles in circuit, enclosed with a stone wall. It lies about one mile from the main land, and is governed by an independent râjah; who, with three or four grâbs, robs all he can master at sea.

Vingurla. Vingurla, which lies four leagues south of Malwan, was formerly a place of trade, and the Dutch had a factory there for cloths; but, in 1696, a râjah, called Kempason, over-ran that country, and under pretence of visiting the chief factor, seized and plundered the factory. The trading people, for their security, fled to the Portugese dominions of Goa, which lie within six leagues of Vingurla; and on the viceroy's refusing to send them back, entered his territories, and burnt as well as plundered whatever came in his way, not sparing the churches and images; for which sacrilege the Portugueſe gave him the name of Kema Santo, or St. Burner; and after suffering his inroads for many years, were obliged to buy a peace, by allowing him a pension. His army consisted of seven or eight thousand men, and he had two piratical grâbs

grâbs at sea; but having a dispute about a prize, with Konnajî Angria, this latter, who was much superior in power, burnt his grâbs; and landing at Vingurla, destroyed the villages about the town [q].

Country of Sundah.

SOUTH of the Portuguese territories, which end at Cape de Rama, lies the country of the râjah of Sunda; whose dominions extend along the coast about fifteen leagues from the said cape to Merzee, and sixty or seventy leagues within land, being bounded on the south by Kanarâ. He is at present tributary to the Great Mogol; but was formerly feudatory to the king of Visâpûr, of which Sunda was a part. In Fryer's time he resided at Sunda, whence the whole country took the name. It is mountainous, and lies on both sides of the Gâtti, or Gâte; maintaining then in pay twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse [r]. *Country of Sundah.*

Karwâr lies seven leagues south of Cape Ramus, with a good harbour, and a river capable of receiving ships of three hundred tons. The English have a factory here, fortified with two bastions, and some small cannon for its defence. Five days journey from hence lie the pepper mountains of Sundh, producing the best pepper in the world, known in England by the name of Karwar pepper; but as the râjah finds a trade for it up the country, at the best rates, therefore but little of it is transported into Europe. *Karwâr port.*

SECT. V.

History of Visiapûr, or Vijapûr.

THE kingdom of Visiapûr had seven kings, of the Pâtan race, who all enjoyed the title of Adel Shâh, assumed by the founder: 1. Adel Shâh. 2. Asof Adel Shâh. 3. Bissa Allah Adel Shâh. 4. Ibrâhîm Adel Shâh. 5. Soltân Mahmûd Adel Shâh. 6. Allah Adel Shâh. 7. Soltân Sokodr Kawder Adel Shâh. *Its kings.*

On the death of this last prince's father, Allah Adel Shâh, the great officers were divided in their interests. It *The last a minor.*

[q] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 243—248. [r] Fryer Trav. p. 162, 163, 169.

was

was reported, that Allah was the ſon of an elephant-keeper; who, on a time when the choiceſt of thoſe animals were ſtabled near the women's quarters, to hide them from the Great Mogol's ambaſſador, found means to get into the apartment of Soltân Mahmûd's queen. The iſſue of this correſpondence was Allah Adel Shâh, whom his mother, after the old king's death, ſettled on the throne; nor did any party diſpute his right during his life: but on his death Soltân Sokodr, or Sekânder, being an infant, ſome of the children of Soltân Mahmûd raiſed forces to oppoſe his ſucceſſion. However, the factions were ſuppreſſed by Kowis Khân, who by the late king had been appointed protector of the kingdom. This lord, who was a Hobſi, or Arabian Kafr (B), kept Sevaji in great awe. However, the nobles, who held their provinces as feudatories, or rather vaſſals, taking advantage of the king's minority, began to withdraw their allegiance.

Diſtractions in Viſiapûr.

Kowkis Khân, though an excellent commander, yet being addicted to wine, the diſaffected laid to his charge not only all miſcarriages in the government, but alſo the loſs of the country, which had been over-run by Sevaji. Bullul Khân, the general, was indeed ſent to oppoſe that rebel, and was able to have put a ſtop to the growing miſchief; but the Pâtan envying the authority of Kowis Khân, let the enemy proceed without oppoſition, and, impatient to uſurp his poſt, ſoon after he had been called from the expedition, cauſed him to be baſely murdered. He invited him to an entertainment in his tent, where he took care to ply him with liquor till he became drunk, and fell aſleep. Then Bullul Khân ſurpriſing his few followers with twelve thouſand Pâtans, forced his way into the caſtle, and ſeized the young king. The next ſtep he took was to put Kowis Khân to death, and uſurp the government of affairs: however, being no leſs envied by the Dukkan princes, than his predeceſſors had been envied by him, he watched their motions, and hindered them from joining their forces. Mean while Viſiapûr was in the utmoſt danger of being ruined; for beſides the factions which tore the ſtate to pieces within, the kingdom was threatened without by Sevaji on one ſide, and a great army of Mogols on the other [s].

[s] Fryer's Travels, p. 147, 167, 168.

(B) Theſe Kafrs were preferred to the chief employments, under the title of Siddîs; and only in Viziapûr arrived to great preferments, as being the frizzled woolly pated blacks.

Sevaji

Sevaji, taking advantage of the times, sent a detachment under his son Sambaji, from his army at Pundit before Goa, which marching through the country, proceeded as far as Bâghnâgur, capital of Golkonda, plundered and burnt that city; but as Bullul Khân watched his motions, he did no damage to Visiapûr. At the same time Seva-ji himself, with another detachment, advanced to Surât, which gave him the usual pishkush, or present. On his return he treacherously seized on the râjah of Râmnâgar's territories in the mountains, through which he obtained leave to pass, and returned an insolent answer to Bullul Khân, who had sent to demand a reason for his proceedings. The Khân, foreseeing that a storm was gathering, took the field, and surprising Serji Khân, râjah of Sunda, and Timi Naig, general of Kanâra, who were on the march to join the Dukkanese, the first fled, and the latter was trodden to death in the confusion, after most of his forces had been slain by the pedereros carried on the war-camels. *Sevaji's successes.*

These auxiliaries were to have been seconded by Badur Khân, the Mogol general, who some time afterwards appeared twice before Visiapûr with a formidable army, pretending to support the rights of the Dukkaneses, and call Bullul Khân to an account: but he was both times repulsed by the protector, at the head of twelve thousand Pâtans, who the last time forced him to leave his hâsnah, or military chest, with a thousand camels, some elephants, and several pieces of ordnance. Five thousand Mogols were slain, with the basha of Busserah, and his son, whose heads were put on poles, and set up on the city walls [t]. *Mogols attack Visiapûr.*

From this time we meet with nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of Visiapûr for near twenty years, excepting what relates to the proceedings of Sevaji; who by degrees extended his power in that country. At length Pan Naik, a râjah, relying on the strength of his territory, situated among twenty-seven inaccessible mountains, called Settais Pale, took up arms also, in order to shake off the Visiapûrian yoke. At this juncture Aureng Zîb, who for a long time had an eye to the conquest of this kingdom, finding the forces of the kingdom, amounting to thirty thousand horse, and as many foot, employed against those rebels, laid hold of the opportunity, and under pretence that the king had given Sevaji passage through his *The kingdom conquered.*

[t] Fryer's Travels, p. 163, & seq.

country,

country, beſieged the city of Viſiapûr. This capital was valiantly defended by Siddî Manſutu, a black, who governed during the king's minority; but at length, in 1685, it was taken, with the caſtle, and the king Sikânder carried away priſoner, to whom, however, the conqueror allowed a million of rupîs a-year for his maintenance. Gemelli ſaw this prince the ſame year at Aureng Zîb's camp. He was about twenty-nine years of age, of a good ſtature, and olive complexion [u].

Power of the lords. The ruin of Viſiapûr was in a great meaſure owing to the privilege of inheritance which the lords enjoyed, contrary to the cuſtom obſerved in other countries of the Indies; for in Dûkkan the lands deſcended from father to ſon among the nobility, although the common people were mere ſlaves. They built forts, made peace and war, fell out with one another, and with their king, at pleaſure; in ſhort, were reſtrained only from raiſing men in his name, and for his uſe. This privilege made them inſolent and ſtubborn; ſo that they were not eaſily united for the common good, and many times they ſided with the enemies of their country.

How checked. In ſome meaſure to balance the power of his lords, the king of Viſiapûr bought kafrs, or blacks, whom he educated, and according to their merit promoted to the chief places of honour and truſt. By this policy the lords were partly kept in awe; and if at any time they who raiſed diſturbances fell into his hands, he not only cut off their heads, but confiſcated their eſtates, and gave them to his favourites; rewards which bound them ſtill ſtronger to his intereſt [w].

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Sevaji, and the Mâharâttas.

His birth. SEVAJI was deſcended from an ancient line of râjahs, of the warlike tribe of the Bounſelos. His grandfather, named Vanguji Râjah, and his father, Shâh Ji Râjah, were both in eſteem under Niſhâm Shâh, king of Dukkan, by whom the latter was made governor of Jeneah Gur; where he had two ſons, Sevaji and Sambaji, by his firſt wife; and by his ſecond, a third ſon, called Ekowji.

[u] Gemelli Trav. ap. Church. Collect. vol. iv. p. 148. [w] Fryer, ubi ſupra, p. 167.

On

On the downfal of Niſhâm Shâh in 1650, Shâhji Râjah and his two younger ſons engaged in the ſervice of the king of Viſiapûr, who gave them conſiderable employments.

As for Sevaji, being of a turbulent nature, he ſought to raiſe himſelf by the ruin of others, ſetting the leſſer lords at variance with their prince, and ſharing in the ſpoils of thoſe who were defeated: for this reaſon his father diſinherited him, and at his death ſettled his youngeſt ſon Ekowji in the râjahſhip of Benglûr, which yet was of no great value. *Reſtleſs ſpirit.*

The king of Viſiapûr obſerving the aſpiring genius of Servaji, with an intent to blaſt him in the bud, ſent a potent army againſt him, conducted by Abdol Khân, an experienced ſoldier. As ſoon as Sevaji underſtood that this general had taken the field, while the main body of his army was at a diſtance, he ſent him flattering meſſages; intimating, that in caſe the khân would ſtop his march, he would meet him at a certain chowltri, and kiſs his feet. Abdol Khân believing him ſincere, ſet out with his ſon and a ſelect number of his men to the rendezvous; near which Sevaji had placed an ambuſcade, and with a few attendants waited the general's coming. As ſoon as Sevaji perceived him at a diſtance, he advanced, and falling at his feet, with feigned tears, intreated pardon for his offence; nor would riſe till Abdol Khân had promiſed to intercede for him: but as they entered the chowltri together, he cried out that his lord, ſo he ſtyled the general, might poſſibly take away his life. Abdol Khân, to remove all ſuſpicion, delivered his ſword and poniard to his page, and bad Sevaji enter with courage. The treacherous Dukkaneſe entered accordingly, and after ſome diſcourſe, watching his opportunity, ſtruck a dagger, which he had concealed in his ſleeve, to the heart of the general: at the ſame time the ſignal being given, his men came from their ambuſcade; on which a ſkirmiſh enſued, wherein Sevaji received a wound from the ſon of Abdol Khân; but the latter with difficulty eſcaped in diſguiſe to the camp, when the ſoldiers were ſo diſmayed with the news of the diſaſter, that they immediately diſperſed. *Deceives Abdol Khân, and kills him.*

Sevaji, elated with this ſucceſs, reſolved to ſack Panala, a ſtrong and wealthy city; but finding much oppoſition from the garriſon, he ſent ſeven or eight hundred of his men, as deſerters to the city, to complain of his barbarity, and tender their ſervice. This offer was accepted, and they were ſet to defend the walls, while the citizens themſelves *Attempts Panala, and Viſiapûr.*

guarded the gates: but one night the pretended deſerters received the enemy under covert of the trees which were planted along the ditch, and having opened the gates, let in the reſt of Sevaji's forces, who cut down the trees, to prevent their doing the like miſchief to themſelves [x].

Mean while the ſon of Abdol Khân being reinforced with new troops, joined Ruſtam Jemma, another general, in order to revenge his father's death; but Sevaji having gained Ruſtam by a ſum of money, when the two armies were ready to give battle, that general withdrew with his cavalry, leaving his colleague with but a few forces to the mercy of his enemy. Nevertheleſs, young Abdol charged the enemy with great impetuoſity, exclaiming, "Thou coward, Seva, here am I:" but Seva did not go near him, ſaying, "He is a raſh youth, let ſomebody elſe kill him." Abdol broke through them two or three times; till being tired he founded a retreat, and haſtened to Viſiapûr, to complain of Ruſtam's treachery. This general with ſome of his friends went over to Sevaji, adviſing him to follow his blow, and attack the capital itſelf: he inveſted it accordingly, and would have taken it, had not Siddi Jor come to its relief.

Outwits Siddi Jor, and makes peace.

At his approach Sevaji retired to Panala, whither he was purſued by the Siddi, who cloſely beſieged the place; but after he had lain a long time before it, Sevaji ſtole out by night, and by means of a falſe fîrmân got poſſeſſion of the ſiddi's town of Râjahpûr, pretending that the ſiddi was to ſurrender it in exchange for Panala. On this general's return to Viſiapûr, the king diſſembled his reſentment for letting that traitor eſcape, and diſmiſſed him with thanks; but having made Bullul Khân commander in chief, he diſpatched him after the ſiddi, who ſuſpecting his deſign, attacked and put him to flight. Then the king took the field with his general, who did by fraud what he could not effect by force; for the night after the two armies were in view, the omrâs who were with the ſiddi forſaking him, he was ſlain, and his head brought to the king.

During theſe tranſactions the king of Viſiapûr died [y]. The queen being regent, did all ſhe could to reduce Sevaji to duty; but her endeavours proving unſucceſsful, ſhe accepted of the peace which he propoſed.

Invades the Mogols.

After this pacification, Sevaji, who could not be out of action, plundered ſome places belonging to the Great Mogol, Aureng Zîb; and that monarch ſent forces againſt him, under the conduct of Shaſta Khân, his uncle, who

[x] Fryer's Trav. p. 171, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. p. 172, & ſeq.

was

was governor of Aureng-abâd. This prince vigorously pursued him; but as he was very vigilant, and his retreat was always in the mountains, the khân could not surprise him. However, he resolved to continue with his troops on Seva's territories, concluding that his turbulent spirit would at length oblige him to make some false step. This patience of Shasta Khân being very irksome to Sevaji, he had recourse to a stratagem: he ordered one of his captains to write to the Mogol commander, offering to go over to his master's service, and carry with him five hundred men, who were under his command. This affair was managed with so much art, that at length Shasta Khân, believing the officer sincere, gave him leave to come to the Mogol camp.

Almost surprised.

The pretended deserter, by reviling Sevaji, and ravaging his lands, gained so far at length on the good opinion of Shasta Khân, that he made him captain of his guards: but some time after his promotion, being on guard at the general's tent, he sent word to Sevaji, who repaired thither at the time appointed. Shasta Khân awaking with the noise, flew to his arms, and was wounded in the hand; however, he made a shift to escape, but one of his sons was slain; and Sevaji thinking he had killed the general himself, gave the signal to retreat. This he effected in good order, carrying off the khân's treasure, and his daughter, who was treated with the greatest respect, and afterwards sent back on payment of the ransom demanded. He wrote afterwards to Shasta Khân, desiring him to withdraw from his lands, otherwise he should certainly lose his life by the stratagems which he continually formed against him.

Seva's march.

The khân, not thinking it prudent to slight such advice, informed Aureng Zîb that it was impossible to force Sevaji in the mountains without ruining his troops; and he received orders to withdraw, under pretence of a new enterprize. Mean while Seva, pursuing his resolution of revenge against the Great Mogol, in 1664, formed a design to plunder Surât, which he knew at the same time to be full of riches. As his territories lay chiefly in the mountains on the road between Bassaim and Chawl, he divided his forces into two bodies, each encamped near one of those cities. Then having ordered his commanders not to plunder, but pay for every thing they had, he departed in the habit of a fakîr for Surât. In that disguise he observed every part of it at leisure, and returned to his army; from whence being followed by four thousand men, he marched back with great secresy, and encamped near

Brâmpûr gate. To amuſe the governor, who ſent to know his buſineſs, he demanded guides, under pretence of marching to another place; but that lord, without giving him any anſwer, retired into the caſtle with his effects, and ſent for aſſiſtance on all hands, while moſt of the inhabitants in conſternation fled into the country [z].

A.D. 1664. Sevaji's men then entered the city, and plundered it for four days, burning ſeveral houſes. None eſcaped pillage excepting the quarters of the Engliſh and Dutch, who, inſtead of an attack, received his compliments, as he ſaw them well provided with cannon. We are told likewiſe, that he ſpared the Chriſtians at the inſtance of a Capuchin friar. Neither did he attempt the caſtle, where he knew moſt of the wealth of the place was lodged, becauſe it was capable of making a vigorous defence, and he was afraid the forces of that country would aſſemble before he could execute his deſign. However, it was computed that he carried away in gold, ſilver, and jewels, to the value of one million ſterling.

Plunders Surât.

Declared a râjah. As Jeſſom Seyn Râjah was ſuſpected to have held intelligence in the ſequel with Sevaji, he was recalled from Dekan, and Jeſſeyn ſent in his room, accompanied by Soltân Mawzm, Aureng Zîb's eldeſt ſon, though without any power. This râjah vigorouſly beſieged Seva's principal fortreſs, and being more expert than all the reſt in matters of negociation, he ſo managed the buſineſs, that Seva ſurrendered before it came to extremities. He afterwards engaged him in the intereſt of the Great Mogol. Aureng Zîb declared him a râjah, and taking him under his protection, gave his ſon the penſion of a very conſiderable omrâ.

In 1666, Aureng Zîb, deſigning to make war againſt Perſia, wrote very obliging letters to the new râjah, wherein he extolled his generoſity and abilities to ſuch a degree, that, on the faith of Jeſſeyn, he went to Dehli; but the wife of his uncle Shâh Heſt Khân, who was then at court, perſuaded Aureng Zîb to arreſt the perſon who had murdered her ſon, wounded her huſband, and ſacked Surât. So that one evening Sevaji ſaw his pavilion beſet with three or four omrâs; but he made ſhift to get away in the night [a].

Aureng Zîb was extremely mortified at his eſcape [b], which made a great noiſe at court; and the eldeſt ſon of Râjah Jeſſeyn was ſuſpected of having aſſiſted him in his retreat [c].

[z] Thevenot Trav. part iii. p. 27, & ſeq. Bernier Mem. part ii. p. 149. [a] Bernier, ubi ſupra, p. 151, & ſeqq. [b] Thevenot, ubi ſupra, p. 30. [c] Bernier, ubi ſupra.

Sevaji,

Sevaji, at his return, went and plundered Surât a second time. Afterwards he enlarged his territories southward, as far as the walls of Goa; from whence he proceeded to the borders of Kanóra, and the Sunda Râjah's country.

Plunders Bâghnâgar.

Having finished this expedition, he encamped at Pundit, before Goa, where leaving the main body of his army, he sent out detachments, one under his son Samba-ji, who marched quite through Visiapûr as far as Bâgnâghr, the capital of Golkonda, which he plundered and burned. With the second detachment Sevaji marched to Surât, which he called his treasury; and although they shut their gates against him out of form, yet they gave him his usual pishkush, or present. As the Mogol forces possessed the plain country, he obtained leave of Râjah Râmnâgar, to carry his army, in his repeated expeditions, over the hills, which reach within thirty miles of Surât [d]. In consequence of this permission, having made himself acquainted with the avenues into that rajah's country, he, in his last return from Surât, seized upon it, giving only this reason for his treachery, that it was inconvenient to trust him with the door of his exchequer. The inhabitants of Râmnâgar are the savages called Kûleys.

Seizes Râmnâgar

Reply to Bullul Khân.

Bullul Khân, being at the helm, sent to demand how he durst attempt to rob those places? "O, (said he to the messenger), go tell thy master, I wonder how he durst dispossess any great man of life, or place, without having first advised with me. I did this only to let him know, that I, not he, am a member of Visiapûr." The protector, by this answer, foreseeing that a storm was gathering, took the field, and surprising Serji Khân and Timi Naïg, who were advancing to join Seva, broke all his measures [e].

His dominions.

At this time Sevaji was master of all Konkhon; extending along the coast from Balsore hills, a little to the south of Surât, to the river Gongola, south of Goa, the space of two hundred and fifty leagues. Within land his possessions were not very great in the plains; but he had entire dominion over the Goat, or chain of mountains which are piled one upon another. Nor did the Dukkanese attempt to retake any of his acquisitions, although he had blocked up their ports, so that they had none left them free, excepting only Porto Novo, beyond Tuttikori. Neither were those which the Portuguese and English possessed of any great account to them in respect of trade, since he prevented the Kassilas from repairing to

[d] Fryer, ubi supra, p. 174. [e] Ibid. p. 162, & seq.

their ports, not more to the detriment of the Europeans than his own; whereas the profits arising from commerce would have been of infinite more service to him than ravaging countries and murdering the inhabitants. He had taken and maintained above sixty strong hills against the Mogols, who not caring for such rugged places, chose rather to desert then defend them. On the other hand, as they were masters of the plains, Sevaji was unable to do any thing there but rob from time to time, and presently retreat to the high lands; whence Aureng Zib called him his mountain-rat.

Infests the Mogols.

A.D. 1679. In the year 1678 Sevaji marched again towards Surât, which motion so frighted the merchants, who had suffered by him formerly, that, although the city was then surrounded with walls able to resist a strong force, yet they fled with their wealth and families. The râjah, ever since the time that he had so cruelly plundered Surât, considered it as under contribution to him, and came to receive the usual tribute; while the governor taxed the Banîyans to satisfy the enemy's demands, even after the walls were built. This extortion being represented to Aureng Zîb, he, in May, 1679, sent Morâd Bek, his armour bearer, to command that city, who the same month marched to put a stop to the incursions of Sevaji's troops, who ravaged the neighbouring places; and although Aureng Zîb's eldest son, Soltân Mahmûd, advanced to Brampûr with a formidable army, yet Sevaji plundered the country, knowing that the soltân could not divide his forces to hazard a battle; at last, death delivered the Mogol monarch from this troublesome enemy, who died on the 1st of June, 1680[f].

Marches to Surât.

Plunders the country.

A.D. 1680.

His death.

On Seva-ji's death the two chief ministers were at variance about settling the succession; one was for advancing his younger son, the other declared for Sambaji, the elder; who at length prevailing, was declared maw râjah, or the lawful heir to his father's conquests.

We know very little concerning the successors of Sevaji, whom some authors speak of as living many years after this period; while others seem to give that name or title in common to all his descendants.

Sevaji's successors grow very powerful.

These râjahs continued to invade their neighbours by turns; nor does it appear that they lost any thing by the conquest which Aureng Zîb made of Vijiapûr, about 1685; for although this monarch is said to have subdued that kingdom, which he in effect put an end to, yet in

[f] Fryer, p. 412, & seqq.

reality

reality not much above half the country fell by that means into his poſſeſſion; for the ſucceſſor of Sevaji was then maſter of the weſtern part, from the mountains of Balagât to the ſea, while other râjahs kept the parts which they had before ſeized. And although by degrees the Mogol emperor not only reduced thoſe râjahs to ſubmiſſion, but even ſubdued other countries to the ſouth and eaſt; yet the ſucceſſors of Seva ſtill maintained their footing againſt the Mogol generals, in ſpite of whom they made frequent expeditions, both into Karnata, formerly called Biſnâgar, even as far as the coaſt of Choromandel, and into the Mogol empire itſelf, where they levied a tribute on ſeveral provinces.

Mahârâttas, or Ganîms.

The ſubjects of thoſe princes are called Mâharattas, or Ganîms, who have of late acquired a ſurpriſing power by ſuch incurſions. They have alſo taken the iſland of Sâlſet, with the caſtle and town of Bâzaim, beſides other places, from the Portugueſe, maintaining above two hundred thouſand horſe in the northern, ſouthern, and inland provinces [z].

Their expeditions.

Nezâm al Muluk was for a long time governor of Dekan, where he reſided without going to court, under pretence of keeping the Mâharâttas, or Ganîms, in awe. The truth is, they never ravaged the empire, excepting when, to ſerve his own deſigns, he ſet them to work; but he being at length prevailed on to return to court, the Mâharâttas took advantage of the troubles which enſued, and deſcended like a torrent from their mountains, with deſign to ſubdue the whole weſtern peninſula of India, and root out the Mohammedan government. In the year 1740 they made an incurſion as far as the Ganges; then turning towards the weſt, they ſeized all the country in India belonging to the Portugueſe, excepting the city of Goa. A.D. 1740.

After this expedition, their prince Sitoji began his march ſouthward with fifty thouſand horſe, and paſſed the mountains belonging to the Paleakarens (C), or Indian princes, who made no reſiſtance, but ſeemed to be engaged in the combination to throw off the Mohammedan

z Fraſer's Hiſt. Nadir Shah, p. 33.

(C) The kingdoms of the ſouthern India are divided among ſeveral Paleakarens, who, though dependent on the kings of their reſpective countries, are yet abſolute maſters of their little ſtates.

yoke. However that be, as ſoon the Mogol governors were appriſed of this invaſion, they aſſembled forces, and went to meet the enemy. The Mâharâttas, it is true, were repulſed, and obliged them to retire to the hills; but a detachment having deſcended by another defile which was not guarded, and appeared behind the Mogols; theſe latter taking them for a reinforcement from the city of Arkat, ſuffered them to approach without oppoſition, till they diſcovered the error; but then it was too late. This ſurprize put the whole army in confuſion; which being encloſed by the mountains, had not room to be drawn up in order of battle; ſo that the Mâharattas, attacking them both in front and rear at the ſame time, cut them all in pieces, except a few who either eſcaped or were taken priſoners [h].

Defeat the Mogols.

The nabâb, who was general, being ſlain in the action, his mother, wife, children, and a great number of quality, fled from Arkat with their effects to Ponticherri, under a guard of ſeven thouſand horſe. The Mâharâttas, in a few days, arrived at Arkat, which, though very large, is defended only by a deſpicable citadel, built of earth; ſo that the garriſon, making no reſiſtance for fear of being put to the ſword, ſuffered the enemy to plunder the city without moleſtation. From thence they marched to Velowr, another conſiderable city, whoſe citadel is built with a double wall of free-ſtone, fortified with baſtions, and a large ditch, full of crocodiles; ſo that being impregnable without cannon, and the Maharâttas having left their's beyond the mountains, they proceeded to Polowr, which they took and plundered. They acted in the ſame manner at Jingama, Tirowna Maley, Kanjibowran, and all the towns and villages whither they went. However, they did not burn many places, nor kill the inhabitants, excepting ſuch as oppoſed them: but ſeveral principal perſons in the villages were ſo cruelly chabowked, or horſe-whipped, to make them diſcover where the proviſions and goods were hidden, that they died under the laſh.

Plunder Arkât, Velowr, and Kanjibowran.

They pillaged pagods and churches without diſtinction, and ſome prieſts and miſſionaries at Tirowna-Maley underwent the torture, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to have concealed wealth [i].

Ravage Maiſſour.

The king of Maiſſour, ſent a powerful army to guard his frontiers: but the enemy, having defeated it, entered

[h] Saignes ap. Lettr. Edifiantes, tom. xxvi. p. 260, & ſeqq.
[i] Ibid. p. 264—271.

his

his country, and committed all sorts of rapine. The rainy season did not put a stop to their incursions; for they pushed forward as far as Porto Novo, a factory of the Dutch, on the coast of Choromandel; which they plundered. With the same design they advanced within three leagues of Pondicherri; being informed of the strength of that place, they turned off towards the kingdom of Madûra. *and Madûra:*

The conquest of this country cost them but little trouble. They burned two churches in their route, and plundered the rest. The missionaries, fled to Tirowchirapali, capital of a kingdom of the same name, and put themselves under the protection of Skander Saheb; who had lately conquered it, and been made a nabab by the Great Mogol. This Mohammedan lord, unable to keep the field, with eleven thousand men retired into the citadel; where he defended himself with much valour for two months. Bara Saheb, his brother, coming to his assistance with four thousand horse, slew, in the first encounter, two thousand Mâharâttas. However, they still prosecuted the siege, and summoned Skander Saheb to surrender; threatening otherwise to destroy all with fire and sword. In short, three thousand ladders were already prepared to scale the walls, when the nabâb resolved to put all to the risk, and make a sally with the whole garrison His attempt miscarried, his brother was killed, and himself taken prisoner. Of all their conquests, the Mâharâttas kept none excepting this place; where they left fifteen thousand men[k]. *take Tirowchirapali from the nabâb:*

The design of the Mâharâttas was to dethrone the king of Tanjaowr; and, having placed another prince in his room, to return along the coast of Choromandel, by Pondicherri, Kareykal, Sadrastpatan, Madras, and other cities belonging to the Europeans, with a resolution either to oblige them to pay contribution, or to take them by force. Their resentment was levelled chiefly against Pondicherri, for having deprived them of the rich prey, in giving protection to Dost al Khân, the late nabâb's son, and the treasures of Arkat. That lord informed Nezâm al Muluk of the kind reception given him and his family by Mr. Du Mas, the governor; who received a letter of thanks from the wazîr, accompanied with a habit, turbân, and scarf of honour. *their farther designs:*

As the Mâharâttas make war purely for the sake of pillage, they abandoned Arkat six days after they had taken

[k] P. Saignes, ubi supra, p. 271, & seqq.

possession

they quit Arkat. poſſeſſion of it. Then Doſt ali Khân, having re-aſſembled part of his troops, to the number of twenty thouſand horſe, left Pondicherri, and returned to that city; where he accommodated matters with the enemy, by paying them a conſiderable ſum of money.

SECT. VII.

Of the Kingdom of Golkonda.

Deſcription of the Country.

Kingdom of Golkonda: THE kingdom of Golkonda is bounded on the eaſt by the ſea of Bengâl; on the north by the mountains of Orixa; on the ſouth, by that part of Biſnâgar or Narſinga which formerly belonged to the king of Viſiapûr; and on the weſt, by the province of Balagât.

weather: Winter begins here in June, with rain and thunder. The thunder is of a ſhort continuance; but the rains pour down, with furious ſtorms of wind, till the middle of July, with ſome intervals of fair weather. In Auguſt, September, and October, great rains fall again, and ſwell the rivers to a very dangerous degree of depth and rapidity. Theſe rains render the land exceeding fertile, eſpecially in fruits. Vines are in great plenty; and of the grapes, which are ripe in January, they make white wine. They have two crops of rice and ſeveral other kinds of grain.

Produce.

Ports there Golkonda has ſome good and well frequented ports on the coaſt of Choromandel; particularly Maſulîpatan, Paliakata, and Madraſpatan. The firſt lies E. S. E. from Bâgnâgar, on an excellent coaſt. The Engliſh and Dutch have factories in this place; where Fryer bought a ſheep for twelve pence, a partridge for one penny, and a fowl for leſs than two pence. Proviſions bear the ſame price almoſt all over the coaſt of Choromandel, which extends from Maſulipatan to the cape of Negapatan. At Paliakata is Fort Gueldria, a factory of the Hollanders; and at Madraſpatan, commonly called Madras, is Fort St. George, the chief factory of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies. A little to the ſouth ſtands Meliapûr, or St. Thomas; which was taken from the Portugueſe by the natives, in 1662. The kingdom of Golkonda extends along the coaſt from Siakola [1], or Sikokel, to about two

[1] Thevenot's Trav. part iii. p. 93, 104, & ſeq.

leagues

leagues south of St. Thomas[l]; although Karnâtes reaches thirty or forty leagues lower to the south of Sadrâspatan.

The capital of this kingdom is called Bâgnâgar by the natives, and Hayder-abâd by the Persians. It is fourteen or fifteen leagues from the borders of Visiapûr, in a very long plain, surrounded by little hills. It is washed on the west side by the Nerva, a small river; which, in the rainy season, is as large as the Seine at Paris, It is crossed by a stone bridge of three arches; which joins the city to a large suburb. The houses are built with earth, and thatched with straw: they are likewise so low and ill contrived, that they seem no better than huts, excepting those of the quality; but they have all fine gardens. *Bâgnâgar the capital.*

There are several meydâns, or public places, in the city; but the most beautiful is that which lies before the king's palace, which stands on the north side. Over-against it is a portico, where the musicians repair several times a day to play on their instruments, when the king is in town. The palace, which takes up one side of the square, is three hundred and eighty paces in length; and is continued to a building call the Four Towers. The walls, which are of great stones, have at certain distances half-towers; and facing the square is an open gallery, from whence the fights of elephants and other spectacles are beheld. Nobody enters the palace but by express orders from the king. *King's palace.*

The Four Towers constitute a square building, about forty-two feet high. Each front is sixty feet long, and has an arch in it twenty-four feet wide; each arch facing a street of the same dimensions. This building has two galleries, one above the other, and a balcony, or turret, at top: at each corner is a decagon tower, sixty feet high, with four galleries, the whole adorned with roses and festoons. It is arched underneath, and appears like a dome, surrounded on the inside with balusters, and all open[m]. *The Four Towers.*

There are in Bâgnâgar many rich merchants, bankers, and jewellers; besides vast numbers of very skilful artificers. There are likewise many Franks; especially fugitive Portuguese: the English and Dutch have settled there, and the last make great profits. Public women are allowed in this kingdom; and the common people give their wives great liberty. *A trading city.*

[m] Thevenot, ubi supra, p. 94, & seqq.

The

Golkonda fortreſs. The caſtle, where the king commonly kept his court, is two leagues weſt of Bâgnâgar, and called Golkonda; from whence the kingdom takes its name. In the middle of the caſtle riſes a hill, like a ſugar-loaf; the ſides of which are ſurrounded by the king's palace. This fortreſs, for extent, may be called a city. The walls are built of ſtones three feet diameter, encompaſſed with deep ditches, divided into tanks full of good water. After all, it has no fortifications except five round towers; which, as well as the walls, are mounted with a great many cannon. The palace is very large, and well ſituated for air, and has a good proſpect over Bâgnâgar itſelf. One muſt paſs through twelve gates before he comes to the apartment of the prince. All the omrâs and great lords have houſes in the caſtle; where there are ſeveral excellent bazârs, with all ſorts of neceſſaries: but, beſides the lodging of ſome officers, there is no good building in the caſtle. The ſepulchres of the king who built Golkonda, and his five ſucceſſors, are about two muſket-ſhot from the caſtle; each in the middle of a garden, with the tombs of their relations about them [n].

King's riches. This king had vaſt revenues ariſing from the property of lands, cuſtoms of merchandizes and proviſions; but chiefly the diamond mines: for Golkonda might be ſaid to be the country of diamonds. Thoſe who were allowed towards Muſulipatan, paid him a pagod every hour they worked, whether they found diamonds or not. His chief mines were in the kingdom of Karnâtes, in ſeveral places towards Viſiapûr; he had ſix thouſand men continually at work in them, who daily found near three pounds weight of theſe precious ſtones: and nobody dug there but for the king.

Jewel for the head. This prince wore on the crown of his head a jewel almoſt a foot long; which was reported to be of an ineſtimable value. He had many other rich jewels in his treaſury; and ſurpaſſed all the Indian monarchs in precious ſtones.

The great omrâs. The omrâs, or great lords of Golkonda, were for the moſt part Perſians, or the ſons of Perſians, and all very rich; for, beſides the appointments belonging to their reſpective offices, they made great advantage by the ſoldiers, as they kept in pay ſcarce half the number which they ought to have maintained. Theſe omrâs always paſſed through the ſtreets with extraordinary pomp of

[n] Thevenot, ubi ſupra, p. 95, & ſeqq.

proceſſion;

proceſſion; either riding on horſeback, or carried in a palanki, preceded by muſic, forty or fifty troopers, with an elephant or two, and men carrying banners.

The leſſer omrâs, for there were ſeveral orders of them, proportioned their equipage to their revenue: but then the quality of omrâ was become ſo common about the year 1665, that the Indians who guarded the caſtle, and the outſide of the king's palace, to the number of a thouſand, aſſumed the title of omrâs; although their pay did not exceed one crown a month. However, ſome of the great omrâs were exceeding rich: among whom might be reckoned the Amîr Jemla. He was the ſon of an oil-man of Iſpâhân, and had the wealth of a prince. He left the ſervice of the king of Golkonda; and, going over to that of the Great Mogol, died governor of Bengâl. He had in diamonds the weight of twenty mans, which make four hundred and eight pounds of Holland weight. This vaſt wealth he got by the plunder which he acquired in Karnâtes, at the head of the king of Golkonda's army; when that prince, in conjunction with the prince of Viſiapûr, made war on the king of Biſnâgar [o].

Leſſer omrâs.

Amîr Jemla.

Latter State of Golkonda, and Conqueſt by Aureng Zib.

THE king of Golkonda maintained in pay above five hundred thouſand ſoldiers; but as Abdo'llah Kothb Shâh, who reigned in 1667, did not keep ſo powerful an army on foot, he became tributary to the Great Mogol Aureng Zîb. Amîr Jemla, generaliſſimo of the forces of Golkonda, having been ſent to reduce ſome rebellious râjahs, whoſe territories lay upon the Ganges, left with the king both his wife and children as pledges of his fidelity. During the amîr's abſence his enemies endeavoured to render him ſuſpected by the king as if he intended to dethrone his majeſty, and ſet his own ſon upon the throne. The method they propoſed to make away with Jemla was to poiſon him; and Abdo'llah being eaſily perſuaded, gave them leave to act as they thought moſt proper for his ſecurity. Under this authority they ſet their inſtruments to work, but having miſſed of their aim three or four times, the amîr's ſon got intimation of the plot, and communicated their deſign to his father.

Amîr Jemla envied.

[o] Thevenot, ubi ſupra, p. 102, & ſeqq.

As

His ſon ill treated. As ſoon as the meſſenger returned, the young lord, naturally high ſpirited, went to the king, and repreſenting the great ſervices of his father, who had been the chief inſtrument of ſetting the crown on that prince's head, reproached him with ingratitude in no very reſpectful terms. The king, offended with this liberty, ordered him to be arreſted and committed to priſon, with his mother and ſiſters. This affair made a great noiſe at court, and coming quickly to the general's ears, he reſolved to be revenged. To compaſs his deſign he wrote to Soltân Sujâh, Shâh Jehân's ſecond ſon, who was governor of Bengâl, promiſing, in caſe he would join him with his forces, to put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Golkonda; but Soltân Sujâh, inſtead of accepting ſo advantageous an offer, ſent the amîr word, that the perſon who could betray his natural prince might betray him, and therefore he would not truſt him.

Surpriſes Bâgnâgar. Upon this refuſal Jemla wrote to Aureng Zîb, who was then governor of Brampûr, and not being ſo nice as his brother, readily embraced the propoſal. The two armies being at length joined, they arrived at the gates of Bâgnâgar, before the king was in a condition to oppoſe them. He had only time to eſcape to his fortreſs of Golkonda, to which the Mogol prince, after he had pillaged the city of Bâgnâgar, and plundered the palace, laid cloſe ſiege. Kothb Shâh finding himſelf thus vigorouſly preſſed, ſent the Amîr Jemla his wife and children in an honourable manner. He did an action ſtill more generous; for a cannoneer obſerving Aureng Zîb on his elephant, riding about to view the fortifications of the caſtle, told the king, who was ſtanding on the baſtion, that if he pleaſed he would bring down the Mogol prince with a ball; but the king forbade him, ſaying, it became princes to ſpare the lives of one another. The gunner obeyed, and inſtead of ſhooting at Aureng Zîb, took off the head of the general of his army, who was a little before him; an incident which put a ſtop to the aſſault they were about to give. Abdo'l Jaber Beg, who commanded the king of Golkonda's army, underſtanding the diſorder which the loſs of their general had put the enemy into, attacked them furiouſly while they were in that confuſion, and putting them to the rout, purſued them for four or five leagues, till night terminated their career [p].

Aureng Zîb beſieges Golkonda.

[p] Tavernier's Trav. part ii. p. 67, & ſeq.

Aureng

Aureng Zîb having received a reinforcement of fresh troops, returned to the siege with new resolution. However, Amîr Jemla, who still retained some kindness for the king of Golkonda, would not suffer the Mogol prince to use the utmost extremity; but by his wit and good management obtained a suspension of arms. Shâh Jehân, after the battle which he lost against his father Jehân Ghîr, had fled for refuge to the king of Golkonda; and having met with a very kind reception, entered into a strict friendship with him, swearing to his benefactor never to make war against him upon any pretence whatever. Amîr Jemla, therefore, knowing that it would not be difficult to bring two kings, who had such ties upon them, to an accommodation, wrought secretly with both towards a peace, and so conducted matters, that Abdollah Shâh humbly wrote a letter to Shâh Jehân, wherein he requested that monarch to become an arbitrator between the prince, his son, and him, promising to submit entirely to his decision, and sign such articles as he should propose. On the other hand, Shâh Jehân was prevailed on by the amîr's persuasions, in answer to the king of Golkonda's letter, to propose a match between his second daughter and Soltân Mohammed, son of Aureng Zîb, on condition that, after the death of the king her father, the son-in-law should inherit the kingdom of Golkonda; which proposition being accepted of, the peace was concluded. *Peace brought about by Amîr Jemla.*

The king of Golkonda had two other daughters; the eldest was married to Mîrza Mohammed, a relation of the Sheykh of Mekka, who had come to Golkonda in the habit of a fakîr, or religious mendicant. *Mirza Mohammed.*

The third princess of Golkonda was married to Mîrza Abdol Kosing. He had by her two sons; a circumstance which quite annulled the pretensions of Aureng Zîb's son; who was then imprisoned in the castle of Gwaliyâr, for joining with his uncle Sujâh against his father. *Abdo'llah Shâh's power.*

Notwithstanding the peace before mentioned, the king of Golkonda was in continual fear of another visit from Aureng Zîb. After having sent two hundred thousand men to the assistance of the king of Visiapûr, who was vigorously attacked, he was obliged to recall them, and pretend they were sent without his knowlege. This circumstance shewed how low the power of Abdo'llah was reduced. He durst not put to death his omrâs, even for crimes; for which, on being found guilty, he only fined them, and took the money. The Dutch themselves insulted, and obliged him to abandon an English ship which they

they had ſeized at Maſulipatan, although he had undertaken to protect her [q].

Succeeds Abdollah Shâh.

The king, worn out with age and exceſs of pleaſures, at length falling ſick, ſent for all the lords of his court; and declaring his ſon-in-law Soltân Abdollah Hooſan his ſucceſſor, obliged them to ſwear on the Koran to obey his laſt commands. After he had taken this precaution he died, having lived above eleven years ſince the marriage of his beloved daughter, who had, in that interval, ſecured the ſucceſſion in her family, by the birth of a prince and two princeſſes. On the king's death his ſecond daughter, wife to Mîrza Mahmûd, having made a ſmall party, ſeized on the palace, in behalf of a ſon her huſband had by a former wife, whom ſhe endeavoured to ſet on the throne; but Moſo Khân, Sind Mîr Zaffer, and Muſhûk, the three chief miniſters, quickly ſuppreſſed the tumult which ſhe had raiſed, and proclaimed Soltân Abdollah Hooſan padiſhâh, or emperor.

His policy to deſtroy his corrupt miniſters.

This king, at his acceſſion, proved himſelf an able politician, in the method he took to gratify the two firſt of thoſe lords who had advanced him to the throne; and at the ſame time deſtroy their power, which was grown exorbitant through the indolence of the preceding king. He divided the adminiſtration of affairs between them; knowing that the hatred which they bore each other would ſoon throw things into confuſion, and furniſh him with a pretence to ſet them both aſide. On Moſo Khân, therefore, he conferred the title of Khân Khânna, and made him general of the army. To Sind Mîr Zaffer he gave the title of Amîr Jemla, and appointed him duân, comprehending the joint offices of chancellor and treaſurer.

When the king had thus rewarded theſe corrupt miniſters, he ſeemed to abandon buſineſs wholly to enjoy his pleaſures; but at the ſame time managed his intelligence in ſuch a manner, that he had a perfect knowlege of every thing which paſſed. Mean while the two great men ſtrove who ſhould procure the fineſt women, muſicians, and dancers, to divert the king, and continue the lethargy which they imagined he was ſeized with; but while they endeavoured to render him inſenſible, he had ſoon the pleaſure to ſee that his ſcheme againſt them ſucceeded to his wiſh; neither of them being able to bear an equal in authority, each watched for an opportunity to accuſe and ruin the other [r].

[q] Thevenot, ubi ſupra, p. 100, & ſeq.

[r] Ovington, ubi ſup. p. 541, & ſeq.

The

The duân, on inspecting the payment of the army, received many complaints against the general, whose avarice impelled him to defraud both the king and soldiers of great sums. Of this peculation the duân complained to the king, who seemed not to believe it. The duân, therefore, resolving to bring such evidence as should convince the king of the truth, seized the general's Brâmman, who kept the accounts of the army. The general, enraged at this insult, put himself at the head of some soldiers, resolved to cut the duân to pieces; but the latter was prepared with sufficient guards to keep off his enemy till the king sent and commanded him to retire. *They fall out.*

The duân, now recovered from his fright, repaired to the king, and desired him to consider if he could be safe in his palace, if such outrages were committed in the garrison. The king told him calmly, that he would take care of both their safeties, and prevent such violences for the future, by perfectly reconciling the general and him. Although the duân knew that was a thing impossible, yet he went away seemingly contented. The king sent for the general, and acquainted him that he had undertaken a reconciliation between them. At first he stormed and called the duân a thousand names; but growing calmer, returned his majesty thanks, and promised submission to his command.

In a few days after Kothb Shâh sent for the general to the palace; but he had no sooner entered the gate than he found himself seized by the guards, and was sent in irons to prison. He was charged with having slighted the king's commands, with having presumed to assault one of his counsellors within his garrison, and with having converted the king's treasure to his own use. His estate being confiscated, officers were sent to seize his effects, and found in his house five hundred thousand new pagodas, amounting to two hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels, wherein he was very rich, for he had been governor of the diamond mine of Kowlowr (E). Immediately after this vigorous step the king mustered the army, paid them their arrears, and gave the command of them to Mushûk [a]. *General imprisoned.*

The duân was infinitely pleased at the fall of Moso Khân, and imagining that he had now no rival in Kothb *The treasurer cashiered.*

[a] Ovington, p. 546, & seqq.

(E) It is the richest of all the diamond mines in Golkonda, or Hayder-abad.

Shâh's favour, took upon him to control every body. The king let him go on without taking notice of ſmall preſumptions; ſo that growing confident, through his majeſty's neglect, he ventured to give orders of the greateſt importance without conſulting his ſovereign. The acts of tyranny and injuſtice which the duân committed by his abuſe of power, at laſt occaſioned a general clamour, and gave the king an opportunity of doing what he had ſo long deſigned: for this purpoſe notice was given, that ſuch a morning the king intended to appear at the durbar, where the lords were to come, according to cuſtom, to make their ſalam, or obeiſance. After the ceremony the king commanded the duân to ſtand before him, and ſpoke to this effect: he obſerved, that confiding in his abilities and fidelity, he had left almoſt the whole affairs of the kingdom to his management; but found himſelf entirely deceived in his conduct; for that he had made uſe of the indulgence which was ſhewn him, and of his own great abilities, only to affront his king and oppreſs his fellow-ſubjects. Then, in a ſeverer tone, he recapitulated all his inſolences, the affronts which he had offered him, by preſuming to do things of the greateſt conſequence without acquainting him, and all the miſcarriages of his adminiſtration. "After having committed ſuch high miſdemeanors (ſaid he) you deſerve to fall a ſacrifice to public juſtice; however, in conſideration of ſome former good ſervices, I give you your life, and the government of ſuch a province; and command you, under forfeiture of both, to retire immediately to your command." Thus the Kothb Shâh diſmiſſed him, without any farther diſgrace, and even ordered that he ſhould be treated with the reſpect due to one in his employment.

Reformation at court.

The king having thus, with great applauſe and ſatisfaction of the people, got rid of his two partners in the government, left his retirement, and diſmiſſing the lewd women and dancers, applied himſelf wholly to buſineſs, appeared frequently in the durbar, looked into all affairs of the kingdom with his own eyes, and examined the accounts relating to his revenues, the auditing of which he gave to Muſhûk, who then became his favourite. He rewarded bountifully thoſe who did their duty; and although he condemned none to death, yet he puniſhed offenders after other manners very ſeverely [t]. We find nothing more relating to the tranſactions of this king's

[t] Ovington, p. 549—552.

reign,

reign, till the conqueſt of his dominions by the Great Mogol, which was effected in the following manner.

Aureng Zîb beſieges the fortreſs and takes it.

After the peace made with the king of this country, on condition of giving his daughter to Soltân Mahmûd, the Mogols attempted nothing againſt Golkonda for ſeveral years; but at length Aureng Zîb having reſolved to make a conqueſt of that kingdom, after he had quaſhed the rebellion of his fourth ſon, Akber, in 1680, ſent his ſecond ſon, Shâh Alam, with a powerful army, to attack Golkonda again; but the Mogol prince, either thinking the conqueſt difficult, or overcome by the king's promiſes to give him his daughter in marriage, and aſſiſt him to ſecure his father's throne, ſo managed affairs, as to obtain Aureng Zîb's conſent to conclude a peace. Although afterwards he received many repeated commands, he could never be prevailed on to return to the ſiege; but caſting his ſcymitar at his father's feet, told him that he was a Muſſulman, and could not violate the peace which he had promiſed to keep.

Upon Shâh Alam's refuſing to renew the war, Aureng Zîb, after he had made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Viſiapûr, marched in perſon, with a mighty army, to conquer Golkonda. At his firſt arrival near Bâgnagâr, he ſecured the paſſage of the river, and that city; then, without ſtaying to fortify it, by the advice of the Franks, who were in his ſervice, he proceeded to beſiege the fortreſs of Golkonda, whither the king had retired. As this place was built with ſtones of large dimenſions, and encompaſſed with a deep ditch, it held out a ſiege of nine months, though battered by many pieces of cannon, particularly by three of ſuch a prodigious ſize, that each of them was drawn by five hundred elephants, and two hundred men, for they could make but a ſmall breach in the citadel, which was not incloſed with walls, but a ſolid rock. At length, want of proviſions, and diſtempers which raged in the place, joined to the preſents and promiſes made by the Great Mogol, corrupted the governor, who ſurrendered the fortreſs againſt the will of his ſovereign. The king of Golkonda offered to pay a tribute of three millions and ſeven hundred thouſand rupîs, and become his vaſſal; but Aureng Zîb refuſed, and entered the place in triumph in the year 1687.

The unfortunate king was ſhut up in the fort of Dawlet-abâd, where his conqueror allowed him the wretched

maintenance of twenty rupîs, about ten crowns a day. But a ſon being born to him in priſon, a bleſſing which he never had while upon the throne, the Mogol, in pity to the infant prince, raiſed the father's penſion to five hundred rupîs[t].

SECT. VIII.

The Kingdom of Kanora, or Kanâra.

Kanora. KANORA, or the Kanatick country, begins at Golgola, a village about forty miles to the ſouth of Goa; extends along the coaſt to the dominions of the Zamerhîn, or Zamorîn, of Kâlekut; and within land up to the pepper mountains of Sunda, and the diſtrict of Serji Khân, in the kingdom of Viſiapûr[u]. This country has on the north the principality of Sundah; on the weſt, the ſea; on the ſouth, Malabâr; and on the eaſt it is bounded by the mountains of Gâtti, or Gattam, which divide it from the principality of Ikkeri, and part of Meſſûr.

Air and produce. The air of Kanara is very pure, and extremely pleaſant, the country alſo is ſo fertile that it ſupplies Europe with rice, beſides ſeveral parts of the Indies[x]. Beſides this grain, the ſoil produces plenty of betel-nuts, and wild nutmegs, uſed in dyeing: there is likewiſe ſome pepper, but not comparable to that of Sundah; and wild elephants are found in the foreſts.

Bednûr the capital. The capital city of Kanâra is called Bedmûr, ſituate four days journey from Mîrja, a caſtle on the ſhore at the mouth of the river of the ſame name. In 1675, it was the reſidence of the rânna, or relict of Sham Shanker Naig, or Naik, râjah of Kanora, who was murdered by his nobility. She then governed during the minority of her ſon Baſſepî Naig, the young râjah, in conjunction with Timi Naig, who, from a ſeller of toddi, by his cunning more than valour, raiſed himſelf to be general and protector. He was ſlain in battle, going to join Sevaji[y], as already mentioned.

Females govern. This country is generally governed by a lady, who may marry when ſhe pleaſes, but her huſband never obtains the title of râjah; although, if ſhe has ſons, it is aſſumed

[t] Gemelli's Trav. ap. Churchil's Collect. vol. iv. p. 248, 249, 232. [u] Fryer's Trav. p. 162, [x] Dellon's Voy. p. 154. [y] Fryer, ubi ſupra, p. 162, 164.

by

by the eldeſt: yet neither huſband nor ſon has any thing to do with the management of affairs, while ſhe lives, nor are queens obliged to burn themſelves with their huſbands [z].

The râjah, or rânna, maintains generally about fifteen thouſand ſoldiers on his Malabâr frontiers, with forts of earth, wherein are kept two or three hundred ſoldiers, ready to encounter ſmall parties of their neighbours, who make incurſions with deſign to plunder the country. There is likewiſe another army to cover the borders againſt the ſubjects of the Sevajis: for thoſe two nations being poor, in compariſon with the Kanârîns, watch all opportunities of pillaging.

Inhabitants ſhape and dreſs.

The Kanârîns are of a tawny complexion, and middle-ſized, wear their hair long, and dreſs not unlike the Hindûs of Surât. They are generally good ſoldiers, and moſt expert in mining; nor do they fight ſo diſorderly as the Malabârs, but they are not quite ſo brave, being more addicted to commerce, which carries them to all parts of the Indies. Neither do they follow the laws and cuſtoms of the Malabârs, eſpecially in what relates to the diſtinction and degrees of their tribes, but conform themſelves, in moſt reſpects, to thoſe of the Hindûſtan pagans.

The nobility and language.

The prime nobility have the title of Naïks, or Naigs, as thoſe of Malabâr are called Nairos. The language is peculiar, and called Kanâreyn, ſpoken every where, with ſome variation of dialect, from the borders of Malabâr as far as Surât.

Women burn themſelves.

Kanâra hath ſeveral peculiar cuſtoms, and many of them have ſpread into remote countries: here it was that the practice of widows burning themſelves with the bodies of their deceaſed huſbands had its beginning. Before this law was enforced by the Brâmmans, the women were ſo addicted to poiſoning, that the leaſt quarrel coſt the huſband his life.

Men ſacrifice themſelves.

Although the men do not burn themſelves here with their wives, yet they take their turn alſo in making themſelves voluntary ſacrifices another way. To the wheels of the waggons, on which their images are carried in proceſſion on feſtival days, great iron hooks are faſtened, and on theſe ſome of the ſuperſtitious zealots are accuſtomed to throw themſelves, ſo that being turned round with the wheels, they are cut to pieces; others lie ſprawl-

[z] Hamilton's New Account of Eaſt India, vol. i. p. 282.

ing on the ground, for the wheels to pass over and crush them to death [a].

Cruel punishment. The laws are so well obeyed in this country, that robbery and murder are scarcely ever heard of; and a stranger may travel from one end of the kingdom to the other without being asked where he is going, or what business he is about [b]: this security may be owing, in a great measure, to the manner of executing their criminals, which is very cruel; for they strip them naked, and thus tied hands and feet, expose them on the sands to the scorching of the sun, and stinging of the flies; where they die a most miserable and lingering death [c].

Onor. There are on the coast of Kanâra several considerable places: the most northern is Onoar, or Onor, situated on a river capable of receiving ships of two or three hundred tons; it has a castle on a low hill about a mile within the bar, built by the Portuguese: but the râjah of Kanâra, unable to bear their insolence, reduced it by famine, after a three years blockade. There is a pagod here, called Ramtrut, visited yearly by great numbers of pilgrims. The image, which resembles a monkey more than a man, is sometimes carried in procession.

Batakola. The next port southward is Batakola, which exhibits the vestiges of a very large city, standing near a little river about four miles from the sea. There is nothing worth notice now remaining, except ten or twelve small pagods, covered with copper and stone. The country produces great quantities of pepper; and the English had a factory there, but about the year 1670, one of their ships coming to load, the chief begged a fine bull-dog of the captain; which some time after killing a cow, as they were out a hunting, the priests raised a mob, who slew the whole factory, eighteen in number. Since which time the English never resettled in this city, but often repair thither to buy pepper.

Barselor. After Batakola follows Barseloar, standing on the banks of a broad river, about four miles from the sea. The Dutch have a factory here, about a mile from the river's mouth, which has a castle on the north side for its protection. Their business here is principally to buy up rice, with which the adjacent country abounds, for their garrisons on the Malabâr coast. The Portuguese also get supplies of the same grain for Goa; and have six or eight ships there,

[a] Dellon, ubi supra, p. 154. [b] Hamilton, ubi supra, p. 282. [c] Dellon, ubi supra, p. 154.

which

which carry rice to Muſkât, in Arabia, bringing back horſes, dates, pearls, and other commodities, in exchange. To the ſouth of this place, in the road to Mangulore, there is a walk eight or ten miles long, planted with four rows of trees, whoſe ſpreading branches afford ſhade to paſſengers; who are likewiſe refreſhed, from time to time, with fine clear water, given gratis by ſome old people, placed in little huts at the charge of the ſtate.

Mangulore.

Mangulore is the greateſt mart for trade in all the Kanâra dominions, having the conveniency of the united ſtreams of three rivers, made by the great rains and dews falling from the mountains of Gâtti, twenty-five or thirty leagues diſtant, and joining about a mile from the ſea. The town is poorly built along the ſtreams, and has no defence but two ſmall forts, one on each ſide of the river's mouth. The fields bear two crops of corn yearly, and the higher grounds produce pepper, betel-nuts, ſanſtal wood, iron and ſteel. The Portugueſe have a factory for rice at Mangulor, and a pretty large church, becauſe great numbers of black Chriſtians reſide there; but both prieſts and people are the very dregs of Chriſtianity.

Manguzîr port.

There is only one ſmall ſea-port more in Kanâra, called Manguzîr, about five leagues ſouth of Mangulore, and three from Dekulli, which is a large fort built on an iſland cloſe to the continent; and three leagues farther ſouth is a ſmall river, which divides Kanâra from the Malabâr territories.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Dominions commonly called the Coaſt of Malabâr.

SECT. I.

The Country deſcribed.

Extent and bounds.

MALABAR, taken in its larger ſenſe, contains not only the country under that name, to the weſt of Cape Komori, but alſo thoſe to the eaſt, as far as Nagapatam; for ſo far the inhabitants are called Malabârs;

dârs; and the Malabâr tongue extends a great way beyond, within the kingdom of Karnâta. Taken in a more contracted and modern ſenſe of the word, Malabâr includes only the countries ſo called to the weſt of Cape Komori, otherwiſe denominated the dominions of the Samorîn. It begins at the ſmall river three leagues to the ſouth of Fort Dekullî, and ends at Cape Komori, the moſt ſouthern point of the peninſula of India intra Gangem, the ſpace of about three hundred and fifty miles. Its greateſt breadth is about eighty miles; in ſome parts it is not more than twenty broad. It is waſhed by the ſea on the weſt; and on the eaſt is bounded by the mountains of Gâtti, or Gâte, which divide it from the kingdoms of Meſſûr and Madûrey.

Soil and produce. The air is very good, the coaſt delightful, and the ſoil one of the moſt fruitful in all Aſia, affording two crops a-year [d]; yet rice is not in great abundance: but the coaſt being low and ſandy, produces vaſt numbers of kokoa-nuts, betel and arekka trees, whoſe fruit brings in much riches from abroad [e]. Here are likewiſe plenty of other kinds, excellent in their nature, but very different from thoſe of Europe, ſuch as the jakka, of a prodigious bulk; its fruit is divided into many partitions, which contain a ſubſtance of a yellow colour and taſte like melons, incloſing a ſort of cheſnuts, which are the ſeed. The mango is a much more excellent fruit, reſembling the nectarine; they are of different colours when ripe, as red, white, and green; ſome the ſize of an egg, others bigger than the largeſt pears; the ſkin is hard, and pulp ſoft; they are excellent either to preſerve or pickle: but the Malabâr mangos are the worſt in the Indies, thoſe towards Surât are better, and thoſe of Goa beſt of all [f].

Fruit-trees.

Pepper and cardamums. The higher grounds produce pepper and cardamums; which laſt we are told, grow no where in the world except in the kingdom of Kannanor, near the mountains, ſix or ſeven leagues from the coaſt. They need neither ſow nor plant it; it is enough, after the rainy ſeaſon, to burn the herbs which grow on the ſpot, whoſe aſhes produce this grain; which is the grand ſeaſoning of the eaſtern countries. Cinnamon grows on the Malabâr coaſt; but it is not comparable to that of Seylân. The arbor de reys, baniyan, or war-tree, is no where ſo plenty as in

[d] Cornwal's Obſ. on Ind. Voy. p. 55. Dellon, ubi ſupra, p. 61. [e] Hamilton, vol. i. p. 292. [f] Dellon, ubi ſupra, 161, & ſeq.

this

this country [g]. The mountains yield iron and steel, but not so good as that of Europe. Their woods, besides game, furnish teak-timber, and angelique, for building; sandal-wood, white and yellow; cassia fistula, nux vomica, cocolus Indiæ, and other drugs, in plenty. The soil likewise produces all sorts of pulse; and, among the rest, beans, four inches long, inclosed in a pod a foot and a half in length; but they are only used by the poorer sort of people.

Beasts and reptiles.

Malabâr abounds with wild-fowl and tame, the same as in other parts of the Indies; likewise with tigers, jackalls, or addives, buffalos, civet-cats, and monkies; but no animal is so noxious in this country as the adder, especially a green kind, whose poison is incurable. Some, though long, are very small; those of the largest size are near twenty feet long, and of so great a thickness, that they are able to swallow a man: but they are less dangerous than the other sort, because they are sooner discovered, and more easily avoided.

Division into kingdoms.

The country of Malabâr was formerly united under one emperor, called the Samorin, who, in his old age, turned Mohammedan; and resolving to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, before he put to sea divided his dominions, by will, among his four nephews. To the eldest he bequeathed Kalliſtrâ, whose sea-coast reaches from Dekulli to Tikorey, about twenty-four leagues; to the second, whom he loved best, he left from Tikorey to Chitawa, the same extent of coast, with the title of Samorîn; to the third, Attinga, which reached from Chitwa to Cape Komori, about fifty leagues; because that part of the country is confined between the sea and the mountains of Gâtti; and divided by rivers from those mountains, by more than one thousand islands, between Chitwa and Quoyloan, or Koulam. The youngest had Koyl, which reached from Cape Komori to the river of Nagapatam, about fifty leagues beyond. In process of time each of these kingdoms were divided into many lesser principalities. However, many of the Hindû tribes continue tributaries to the provinces mentioned in the old king's will; although a much greater number are become independent [h].

Mount Delli.

Between Dekulli and Mount Delli, there is no harbour; but a fine deep river runs all the way for about eight leagues, never above a bow-shot from the shore, and falls

[g] Hamilton, ubi supra, p. 291. [h] Idem ibid.

into

into the ſea at the foot of the mount, over rocks and ſands, in a channel half a league broad. A ſmall river alſo runs on the ſouth ſide; and three leagues lower down is a ſpacious river, called Balliapatam; where the Engliſh company had once a factory for pepper.

Kannanore. Not far from thence, ſouthward, is Kannanore, a town formerly belonging to the crown of Portugal, with a ſtrong fort, built on a point of land almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea. But the Dutch, joined by the natives, who were weary of the Portugueſe tyranny, took it about the year 1660, with very little trouble. The Dutch demoliſhed the town, and with the ſtones fortified the fort, which has a garriſon of forty ſoldiers only, their trade being ſmall. However, there is a pretty large town built in the bottom of the bay, belonging to Adda Râjah, a Mohammedan prince; who can bring near twenty thouſand men into the field. His government is neither abſolute nor hereditary.

Adda Râjah.

In 1668, this prince paying a viſit to the Dutch captain, his men attempted to ſurpriſe the fort, but without Adda's knowlege; for which the ringleader was put to a cruel death by his order [1].

King of Kalliſtri. Eight or ten miles from Kannanore the king of Kalliſtri keeps his court. His palace is built with twigs, and covered with kadjans, or cocoa-nut tree leaves, woven together. In 1702, the king, named Omnitri, was about forty years old, and ſucceſſor to the eldeſt ſon of the Samorîn before mentioned, who died in his voyage towards Mecca. His dreſs was only a ſilk lunjey, or ſcarf, faſtened about his middle by a girdle of gold plate. He had great jewels of maſſy gold, ſet with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, hanging at his ears; but no ornament on his head, except his hair, which hung over his ſhoulders, and was very beautiful. His queen and daughters were in the ſame habit, only their hair was tied up behind; being all naked above the waiſt, and barefoot.

Dormépatam. Adda Râjah's dominions reach but ten miles to the ſouth of Kannanore to Tellicherri river; near which he has a harbour, called Dormépatam. The entrance is embarraſſed with rocks, and has an iſland oppoſite to it, about a league from ſhore, invironed with the ſame dangers.

Lakka Divæ iſlands. The ſame râjah is likewiſe in poſſeſſion of the Lakka Divæ iſlands, which lie about forty leagues off the Malabár coaſt, between the latitudes of eight degrees thirty minutes, and twelve degrees thirty minutes. They are

[1] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 292, & ſeqq.

all

all low, and have many dangerous shoals about them. There is a large channel between them and the Maldive islands, called the Eight-degree Channel. They produce nothing but cocoa-nuts and fish; which latter the inhabitants export dried to the continent. From the nut-kernels they express oil; and of the fibres of the husk, called kayar, or kayro, they make cordage and cables for shipping. Sometimes in the south-west monsoons they find ambergris floating on the sea. Captain Hamilton saw a piece in the râjah's possession as big as a bushel; and he valued it at ten thousand rupîs, or one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. The inhabitants are Mohammedans [1].

The next province to Adda Râjah's dominions is Tellicherri; where the English have a factory, pretty well fortified with stone walls and cannon; but to little purpose, since it has no river near it to protect, nor can it defend the road from the insults of enemies. The town is inclosed with a stone wall, and stands behind the fort, within land. *Tellicherri.*

Twelve or fourteen miles farther southward stands Burgara, a sea-port belonging to Ballanore Burgarey, a formidable prince, whose country produces pepper and the best cardamums in the world. This prince and his predecessors have been lords of the seas, time out of mind; and all trading vessels between Cape Komori and Damân were obliged to carry his passes. Those of one mast paid eight shillings yearly, and those with three, about sixteen: but when the Portuguese settled in India, they pretended to the sovereignty of the sea; and this claim occasioned a war, which has lasted ever since. This prince keeps some light gallies; which cruize along the coast from October to May, in order to make prize of all such vessels as have not his pass. He, without any scruple, went on board captain Hamilton's ship, who was there in 1703, and treated him nobly on shore; but would drink nothing on board; telling the captain, that his water was polluted by his touch. And, when our author had paid his visit, he caused an apartment of his palace, built with reeds, and covered with cocoa-nut leaves, to be new thatched; because, in walking together, the stranger's hat had chanced to touch the roof. *Burgara port.* *Lord of the seas.*

The dominions of this prince end at Tikorey, about twelve miles south of Mealey. Midway is Kottika; and off Kottika, about eight miles, lies Sacrifice Rock, so called because, when the Portuguese first settled in India, the *Sacrifice rock.*

[1] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 296, & seqq.

cruisers

cruisers of that place sacrificed on it the whole crew of a Portuguese vessel, which they had seized.

Samorin's country. The country of the Samorin reaches along the sea-coast of Malabar, from Tikori to Chitwa, about twenty-two leagues. Its products are, pepper in abundance, betel-nut and cocoa-nut, whose tree yields jaggheri, a kind of sugar, and kopera, or the nut-kernels dried, which afford a clear oil. Here are found iron, sandal-wood, cassia lignum, and timber for building; which commodities are exported to great advantage.

Kalikut, or Koy Kota. The chief city of the Samorin is Kalekut, where he commonly resides. His palace is built of stone; and there is some faint resemblance of grandeur to be seen about his court. He is reckoned the most powerful king on the Malabar coast, and has the best trade in his country; which makes both him and his people richer than their neighbours. The English had a factory there for many years; but are now removed to Tellicherri, whither their pepper is sent from thence by sea. The French have a small factory also, settled in 1698; and the Portuguese a poor church; but the first have not money to carry on trade, nor the latter credit enough to procure converts.

Road of Kalekut. The Portuguese formerly built a town before Kalekut; which was undermined by the sea, or swallowed up by an earthquake, as some affirm, in 1703 [m].

Tannore. Five or six leagues south of Kalekut is Tannore, a town of small trade, inhabited by Mohammedans, who compose a little free state; but pay an acknowlegement to the Samorin. Five leagues from thence, towards the same point, is Pennaney, which has the benefit of a river, and was formerly a place of trade; where the French and English had their factories till the year 1670, when they removed. About four leagues more, to the south, is Chitwa river, which bounds the Samorin's dominions on that side; where the Dutch built a small fort, and settled about the year 1714 [n].

One odd custom, changed for another. Many strange customs were observed formerly in this country; of which some still continue. One was for the Samorin to reign no longer than twelve years: if he died before that time expired, it saved him the tragical ceremony of cutting his own throat on a public scaffold; which he ascended for that purpose, after feasting, and taking leave of his numerous nobility and gentry; who, having buried his body with great pomp, elected a new

[m] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 299, & seqq. [n] Idem ibid. p. 322.

Samo-

Samorîn. Instead of this custom, at present, at the end of twelve years a jubilee is proclaimed through the Samorin's dominions; and, a tent being pitched for him in a large plain, a feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days, with great rejoicings, guns firing both day and night. At the end of which, any four of the guests, who would wish to gain a crown by a desperate action, may force their way through thirty or forty thousand of his guards, and kill him in his tent; he who gives the fatal stroke succeeding him in the empire.

In 1695, one of these jubilees happened, and was kept at Pennani, a sea-port, about fifteen leagues southward of Kalekut. No more than three men would venture on that extravagant enterprize. They fell in with sword and target, among the guards; and, after they had killed and wounded many of them, were themselves killed. However, a nephew of one of the desperadoes, about fifteen or sixteen years old, had almost carried the prize; for keeping close by his uncle's side, when he saw him fall, the youth penetrated through the guards into the Samorîn's tent, and, making a stroke at his majesty, would have certainly dispatched him, if a large brass lamp, which was burning over his head, had not received the blow; but before he could make another he was killed. Captain Hamilton happened at that juncture to sail along the coast, and heard the guns for two or three days and nights successively.

When the Samorîn marries, he must not cohabit with his wife till the nambourey, or chief priest, has enjoyed her; and, if his sanctity pleases, he may have three nights of her company: because the first fruits of her nuptials must be an holy oblation to the god she worships; and some of the nobles are so complaisant as to allow the clergy the same tribute. However, the common people are excluded from this honour [o]. *Marriage customs.*

The king of Kouchîn' or Kochîn's dominions are next to the Samorîn's, and extend from Chitwa about twenty-four leagues to the southward. So many rivulets descend from the mountains of Gârti, which reach within eight leagues of the coast, that they reckon above one thousand islands made by their streams. These join at Kranganôr, five leagues below Chitwa; where they make one great outlet to the sea. *Kingdom of Kochin.*

[o] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 309, & seqq.

The

Kranganôr. The firſt place of note after leaving Chitwa is Kranganôr; where the Dutch have a ſmall fort, which retains the ſame name, ſtanding about one league up the river. Formerly it bore the name of a kingdom, and was a republic of Jews; who once could reckon eighty thouſand families, but now are reduced to four thouſand. They have a ſynagogue at Kochîn, not far from the king's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are preſerved their records, engraven on copper-plates in Hebrew characters.

Jews there. They declare themſelves of the tribe of Manaſſeh, part whereof was, by order of Nebuchadnezzar, carried to the moſt eaſtern province of his large empire, which it ſeems extended as far as cape Komori; and this journey twenty thouſand of them performed in three years from their ſetting out from Babylon.

Their hiſtory. When they arrived in Malabâr they were received with great civility by the inhabitants, who allowed them liberty of conſcience, and the uſe of their own cuſtoms. There, having increaſed in number and riches, they at length purchaſed the little kingdom of Kranganôr, and choſe two ſons of an eminent family to govern the commonwealth, and reign jointly over them; but one of the brothers, ambitious to reign alone, killed the other at a feaſt, and his ſon having revenged his father's death by that of the murderer, the ſtate fell again into a democracy, which ſtill continues among theſe Jews. Many of them, through poverty, have embraced the Hindû religion, the lands having for many ages reverted into the hands of the Malabârs.

To the ſouth of Kranganôr, and within the iſland of Baypin, which reaches from thence to Kochin, there is an old Portugueſe fort; and five leagues up the rivulet is a Romiſh church, called Verapoli, ſerved by French and Italian prieſts, whoſe ſuperior can raiſe four thouſand men, all of the church of Romè; but there are many more Chriſtians of St. Thomas, who will not communicate with thoſe of St. Peter; and ſome Portugueſe, called Topaſes, who communicate with neither; for they will be ſerved by none but Portugueſe prieſts, becauſe they indulge them more in their villainies, and let them have abſolution from their crimes at an eaſier rate [p].

Swelled legs. The water of this country near the ſea-coaſt from Kranganôr to St. Andrea, about twelve leagues to the ſouth,

[p] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 323, & ſeqq.

affects

affects the constant drinkers of it with swelled legs. It causes no pain, but itching. The Dutch at Kochîn, to prevent that malady, send boats daily to Verapoli for water to serve the city; and yet captain Hamilton saw both Dutch men and women troubled with that distemper; to heal or prevent which no remedy hath yet been found.

City of Kochin.

The Portuguese, who were the first Europeans settled at Kochîn, built a fine city on the river side, about three leagues from the sea; but the latter gaining on the land yearly, it is not now above a hundred paces from it. However, the situation among rivulets and canals makes it exceeding pleasant. It was a mile and half long, and one mile in breadth; but the Dutch having taken it about 1660, with the assistance of the king of Kochîn, they contracted it to almost one tenth of its former magnitude, it being now about six hundred paces long by two hundred broad, but fortified with seven large bastions, and thick curtains. The garrison consists of three hundred men. The king of Kochîn, who at best is but a vassal to the Dutch, has a palace built of stone, about half a league from the Dutch city; and there is a straggling village not far from the palace, which bears the name of Old Khochîn, with a bazâr, or market-place in it, where the country merchandizes are sold, but no curiosities. His majesty's ordinary residence is at another palace, six leagues to the south of Kochîn, and two from St. Andrea; but he keeps only a small court.

Mud Bay singularity.

On the shore of St. Andrea, about half a league out in the sea, lies Mud Bay, a place which few in the world can parallel. It is open to the wide ocean, and has neither island nor bank to break off the force of the billows, which come rolling with great violence on all other parts of the coast in the south-west monsoons; but on this bank of mud they lose themselves in a moment, and ships lie on it as secure as in the best harbour, without motion or disturbance. It reaches about a mile along shore, and has shifted from the northward in thirty years about three miles [q].

Porkah principality.

About two leagues south of St. Andrea begin the dominions of Porkat, or Porkah, which are of small extent, reaching not above four leagues along the coast. The prince is poor, having but little trade, although it was a free port for pirates when Avery and Kid cruised in these

[q] Hamilt. ubi supra p. 325. 328, & seqq.

latitudes.

latitudes. The Dutch keep a factory at Porkah, but of ſmall conſequence.

Kali Koulam. Koilkoiloan, or Kali Koulam, is another little principality contiguous to Porkah, where the Dutch keep a factory; and next to is Koyloan, or Koulam, another ſmall principality and city. It has the benefit of a river, which is the ſouthernmoſt outlet of the Kochîn iſlands; and the Dutch have a ſmall fort within a mile of it on the ſhore, which they took from the Portugueſe. It has a garriſon of thirty men, and its trade is inconſiderable. At Erwa, two leagues to the ſouth of Koyloan, the Danes have a ſmall factory, being a poor-looking thatched houſe by the ſea-ſide, with a trade ſuitable to it; and two leagues beyond Erwa lies Aujengo, a fort built by the Engliſh in 1695. It ſtands on a ſandy foundation, and is fortified by the ſea on one ſide, and a little river on the other; but there is not a drop of water for drinking but what comes from the Red Cliffs, three miles to the north, which would have been a much better ſituation. The country produces great quantities of pepper, and long cloth, as fine as any made in the Indies. Their factory is in the dominions of the queen of Attinga. Before it was built the Engliſh had two others in her country, to the ſouth of Aujengo; one called Brinjan, or Bringjohn, the other Ruttera, or Reytora, but being naked places they left them, to avoid the inſults of the needy courtiers.

Aujengo fort.

Queen of Attinga. In thoſe times they ſent a yearly preſent to the queen of Attinga, whoſe court is about four leagues within land from Aujengo; and in 1685 it being carried by a young beautiful gentleman, her black majeſty fell in love with him, and next day made him propoſals of marriage; but although he modeſtly refuſed ſo great an honour, yet, to pleaſe her majeſty, he ſtaid at court a month or two; and when he came away ſhe made him ſome preſents. About 1720, the annual preſent being demanded by the queen's officer, and the Engliſh chief refuſing to pay it to any but the queen herſelf, ſhe invited him to court. Thither he carried two of his council, and ſome others of the factory, with moſt of the military belonging to the garriſon; but they were all cut off by ſtratagem, excepting a few black ſervants, who made their eſcape.

Tengapatam. Tegnapatam, or Tengapatam, lies about twelve leagues ſouthward of Aujengo, in a country producing pepper and coarſe cloth. Here the Dutch have a factory. Kolicha, or Kolechey, ſituate between the middle and weſt point

point of cape Komorîn, affords good cloth and salt, but neither the English nor Dutch trade thither[r].

The country, from the borders of Koyloan as far as this cape, is called the kingdom of Travankor; and, as we are told on one hand that it belonged to Attinga, and on the other, that it was governed by the queen, it may be presumed that she was the same just now mentioned. Besides those on the sea-coast already taken notice of, this country has several considerable places within land, among which are the cities of Travankor, Kali, and Kotate. This last is situate at the foot of the mountains of Gâtti, about four leagues from Cape Komori, and is very large and populous[s], but without either walls or ditches, as are most of the towns in these parts. *City of Kotate.*

At this famous cape, which makes the most southerly point of this peninsula of India, one experiences two opposite seasons of the year, winter and summer at the same time; for in that tongue of land, which is not above three leagues in extent, sometimes even in the same garden, which is not more than five hundred paces square, one has the pleasure to see those two seasons united; the trees being loaded with flowers and fruits on one side, while on the other they are stripped of all their leaves. This surprising phænomenon is owing to those mountains; and our author, who relates this fact on the testimony of others, himself observed, that on the opposite side of the cape the winds are constantly opposite, and as if at strife; so that at the same time the winds blow from the west on the west side, they blow from the east on the eastern side[t]. *Cape Komori.* *Strange variety.*

SECT. II.

The Inhabitants of Malabâr.

THE inhabitants of Malabâr are generally well shaped, all of them black, or at least very deep tawny; but are not near so ugly as the Africans. They let their hair grow to a great length; but shave their beards close, excepting a few who wear whiskers. They do not want ingenuity, but very rarely improve it by any useful arts or sciences. They are very treacherous, breach of faith *Inhabitants.*

[r] Hamilt. ubi supr. p. 333, & seqq. [s] Bouchet ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 44, & seqq. [t] Tachard. tom. iii. p. 209, & seq.

Character. being their daily practice. However, they are generally very patient, and not eaſily put in a paſſion. Beſides, it ought to be mentioned to their honour, that when injured or affronted, they have recourſe to the moſt generous methods of taking ſatisfaction, and never revenge themſelves by clandeſtine means; poiſon not being ſo much as known among them.

The Malabâr females are generally well-ſhaped, and not ill-featured.

Divided into tribes. Theſe people are diſtinguiſhed, as in other parts of India, into ſeveral degrees or tribes. The firſt is that of their princes; the ſecond of their clergy; the third conſiſts of their nayers, or nobles; the merchants make the fourth; and under the fifth may be compriſed the mechanics, huſbandmen, fiſhers, and the inferior kinds of people.

Crown hereditary. With regard to the firſt order, or that of the princes, in each kingdom of the Malabârs there are ſeveral families which are branches of the royal ſtock, ſuperior in rank to all others; and, in general, the moſt ancient of all the princes ſucceeds without oppoſition; ſo that a young ſovereign is the greateſt rarity that can be ſeen among the Malabârs.

Prime miniſter. The firſt ſtep which a new king takes, is to appoint a lieutenant-general, or firſt miniſter. The whole management of affairs is left to his conduct; and the king, for the moſt part, lives in a retired place, but with a great deal of magnificence[a].

The king's ſtate. When he goes abroad, he is carried either on an elephant, or in a palanki; having on his head a crown of gold, ſhaped like a ducal bonnet, weighing ſomewhat above two hundred guineas. It is always given by the new governor-general, and repoſited in the treaſury of the chief pagod when the king dies. His majeſty is ſurrounded with his guard of Nayers, before whom certain officers march to clear the way, and give notice that the king is coming; while his majeſty proceeds with the ſound of drums, trumpets, and other warlike inſtruments.

The clergy. There are in the Malabâr countries many degrees or dignities in the church, as well as in the ſtate. The clergy conſiſt of three orders; Nambouri, Brâmans, and Buts. The Nambouri are the firſt in both capacities of church and ſtate; and ſome of them are popes, being

a Dellon Voy. to Ind. p. 91. 106, 107. 114.

fore-

ſovereign princes in both reſpects. Of theſe prieſts there are two ranks or orders; the firſt called Iregale Nade, the ſecond Nambiar. The Brâmans are the ſecond degree of clergy, and concerned in ſpiritual affairs only. The Buts, or magicians, are next to them, and in great veneration [b]. Such is the authority of the clergy here, that in all matters which concern religion the kings are ſubject to the Nambouri and Brâmans.

Nayers, or gentry, ſerve as guides.

The Nayers, or, as others write, Naires, Nahers, and Nayros, are the gentry. Theſe are very numerous [c]. They may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by their civil deportment and converſation.

It is an ancient law or cuſtom for all ſtrangers or others, who are not pagans, never to travel without a guard of one or more of theſe Nayers; inſomuch that the princes never take cognizance of any violences offered to travellers who neglect this precaution. Theſe Nayers, whoſe pay is no more than eight tares, or four-pence a day, never betray or abandon thoſe they guard upon the road; but if a man happens to loſe his life while he is under their care, they will not ſurvive him.

Teyvîs.

The Teyvîs are the farmers of kokoa-nut trees. Theſe may bear arms; but not without a licence.

Chatims.

Merchants are of all orders, excepting that of Nambouri.

Maynats.

The Maynats, or whiteners of linen, and the weavers, are divided into ſo many different claſſes or families.

Poulias and Mukwas.

The Poulias produce the labourers and mechanics. Theſe are inferior to the Mukwas, or fiſhermen; who are obliged to live near the ſea, and are not permitted to follow any other employment, or to bear arms, even in caſe of the greateſt extremity.

If a Poulia, or Teyvîs, meets with a Nayer on the road, he muſt go out of the way to let his worſhip paſs, on pain of a ſevere chaſtiſement, if not of death, at his hands. But the Poulichîs are in a much worſe condition; for, by the law, they are not permitted to converſe with any other tribe; nor to wear any kind of cloth, but only a little ſtraw to cover their nakedneſs, made faſt by a cord round their middle. They muſt not build houſes or huts on the ground, nor inhabit the plains where there is corn-land; but are doomed to dwell in the woods, and build on the branches of trees, like birds, with graſs and ſtraw. If they happen to ſee any body

Poulichîs or Pulchas, uſed with rigour.

[b] Hamilt. ubi ſupr. p. 290 312.

[c] Dellon Voy. p. 104.

coming towards them, they howl like dogs, and run away; leſt thoſe of quality ſhould take offence at their breathing the ſame air. Not being permitted to till the ground, they plant fruit and roots in obſcure places of the woods, ſtealing the ſeed in the night from the neighbouring gardens: but if they are caught, they are put to death on the ſpot, without any form of law. When they want food, they come to the ſkirts of their woods, and howl like foxes. Upon this ſignal, the charitable Poulias and Teyvîs relieve them with rice, kokoa-nuts, and fruits; which they lay down within twenty paces of them, and then withdraw, that the Poulichîs may come and carry it into their foreſts. They are very ſwift of foot, and dextrous in catching wild beaſts and fowl.

Religion. The inferior tribes have liberty of chuſing their deities. At the houſes of many mukwas, or fiſhers, there is a ſtake with a few notches cut about it, fixed in the ground two feet high; and this, covered with kadjans, or kokoa-tree leaves, ſerves both as a temple and god to that family. Some get a tree conſecrated for their worſhip: others pay their devotion to the firſt animal, let it be cat, dog, or ſerpent, which they ſee in the morning; and this ſerves for the day. Their temples are neither large nor beautiful, but dark; their images all black and deformed, with lamps continually burning before them. However, they all believe in one ſupreme God, of whom they never make any image: and the tranſmigration of ſouls is a doctrine univerſally received by them [d].

Reckoned infamous. Theſe people eat carrion and vermin. They are ſo deſpicable, that no offering to the gods, or preſent to the prince, will be accepted from them, unleſs it be gold or ſilver: and then they muſt lay it down at a diſtance, and retire twenty paces; while the Nayers, who are the prince's guards, come to take it up, and give them an anſwer at that diſtance. They are often fined in very great ſums; which they are able to pay, becauſe they rob the graves of the Malabârs, moſt of whoſe gold and ſilver is buried with them. But this being conſidered as a kind of ſacrilege, they are looked upon as ſorcerers, and an infamous generation, capable of the moſt enormous crimes. For this reaſon they are, on the leaſt ſuſpicion, accuſed, and condemned to death; whereas

[d] Hamilton, p. 312, & ſeqq. Dellon, p. 91, & ſeqq.

no

no perſon belonging to the other tribes can be convicted, without very ſubſtantial evidence [e].

Superiority of families ſtrictly kept up.

The laws which forbid an upper Hindû tribe or family to have any commerce with an inferior, particularly as to eating and drinking, are no where more ſtrictly kept up than among the Malabârs; or, in other words, the folly of family pride, which reigns in moſt nations, is carried here to the greateſt pitch of extravagance. They will not ſuffer their victuals to be dreſſed by one of a lower rank; nor will they drink of the wells uſed by ſuch: nay, if one of an inferior tribe enters their houſes, the Brâmman is ſent for to take away the infection, by certain ceremonies uſed for that purpoſe. But this rule is obſerved with the greateſt exactneſs when they contract alliances by marriage; nay, the women are even debarred having commerce with a man of an inferior degree. Thus, a man may marry a woman of the next claſs below his own, but not of a ſuperior rank. In ſuch caſe both parties are puniſhed with death; except the females deſcended from the Nambouris and Brâmans: for, in ſuch caſe, they are left to the diſpoſal of the prince, who ſells them for ſlaves; and as they are generally the handſomeſt among the Malabârs, foreigners are eager to purchaſe them at a dear rate.

A cruel law.

If a man of an inferior degree be accuſed of having received a favour from a lady of a rank ſuperior to his, they conduct him, with fetters on his hands and feet, to the prince, where he is put to death. Nor is this puniſhment thought a ſufficient atonement for the offence; but the neareſt akin to the lady have liberty for three days to kill all ſuch relations of the criminal as they ſhall meet with in the diſtrict where the fact was committed. The Nayers have a power to exerciſe this cruelty on ſuch occaſions againſt the Teyvî, and Sheres or weavers; as theſe have the ſame power over the Mukwas or fiſhermen; and theſe again over the Poulchîs. The Nambouri and Brâmans not being allowed to kill any body, their authority extends no farther than to deliver up thoſe poor victims to ſlaughter. This cruel cuſtom would be intolerable, were it not that they commonly reſpite the offender for eight days, that his relations may have time to get out of the way, till the three days, allotted by the law for revenging the affront, are expired [f].

[e] Dellon, p. 92. [f] Ibid, p. 97, & ſeqq.

Habit. In point of habit, there is ſcarce any difference between the men and women in Malabâr. They wear their hair, which is black, and very long; and go naked as far as the middle. The princes themſelves, if they ſometimes make uſe of a ſmall veſt, leave it open before. About their middle they faſten a piece of cloth, which reaches to their knees, and never make uſe of ſhoes or ſtockings. In other countries ladies pride themſelves in rich gold and ſilver ſtuffs: but, on the contrary, in Malabâr, ſuch cloaths are worn by the meaner ſort; while the wives of the Nayers, and others of chief rank, wear nothing but fine white callico; placing their delight rather in girdles of gold, and bracelets of ſilver or horn. They never adorn themſelves with any jewels, unleſs it be a ring. Both men and women have ears hanging down to their ſhoulders, occaſioned by the weight of the pendants, ſometimes exceeding two ounces, which ſtretch the holes to ſuch a degree that one may thruſt his fiſt through them. Some wear gold chains; but theſe are only ſuch who have merited that favour from the king by ſome remarkable action.

Houſes and furniture. Their houſes are commonly built with earth, and covered with kokoa-leaves. Their furniture conſiſts only of ſome baſkets, with a few earthen pots and diſhes. Their cups are of the ſame materials. When they eat, they always turn their backs to the light. At night they make uſe of lamps ſupplied with kokoa-nut oil. Their beds are nothing but deal boards, which the rich cover with tapeſtry, and the poor with mats [g].

Marriages of princes. Princeſſes are here married to either the Nambouri, or Brâmans; and their iſſue are princes, and capable of inheriting the crown in their turn: but, as there is not a ſufficient number of princeſſes to furniſh all thoſe eccleſiaſtics with wives, they are allowed to marry women of the ſame rank, or family, with themſelves; and their children are either Nambouri, or Brâmans, according to the quality of their mothers: for all pedigree and inheritance among the Malabârs run in the female line. For this reaſon the princes never marry any princeſſes, but the daughters of Nayers, to whoſe race the children belong, and not to that of the princes. The Nayers are obliged to marry wives of the ſame quality, or of the next degree of family to themſelves; namely, the Mînats, or the Sheti. The other tribes and families have

[g] Dellon, p. 106, & ſeqq.

the

the ſame liberty in wedlock; but the females muſt not debaſe themſelves by marrying below their rank, on pain of death.

Every woman is ſtinted to twelve huſbands at one time; while the men are not confined to a ſet number of wives. When a woman is married to her firſt huſband, ſhe has a houſe built for her; and he cohabits with her till ſhe takes a ſecond, or her legal number. In which caſe the huſbands agree to live with her in their turns, for ten or more days together; each maintaining her for the time. *Female polygamy: how regulated.*

This female polygamy is not attended with the leaſt diſorder or jealouſy; for if one huſband ſees the arms of another at the lady's door, he is ſatisfied that the place is taken up; and reſts contented till he is gone. It is ſome conſolation, however, to the men, under this female uſurpation, that their marriage-engagements are only during pleaſure, and that, whenever the parties are weary of each other, they part as freely as they meet. Nor are theſe marriages any great expence to them; for the uſual preſent, which the new huſband makes his wife, is a piece of linen to cover her. During the time of ſuch cohabitation, ſhe ſerves the huſband as purveyor and cook; and alſo keeps his cloaths and arms clean. When ſhe proves with child, ſhe declares who is the father; and after ſhe has brought it to walk, or ſpeak, he takes care of its education [h].

Thus the children derive their pedigree from their mothers, it being impoſſible to know their true fathers; neither are the ſons here conſidered as the next heirs, but the nephews, who beſides muſt be the ſiſter's ſons; and if ſhe has none, then the neareſt in blood from the grandmother; which cuſtom is followed even by the Mohammedan Malabârs, although they keep a watchful eye over their wives, and practiſe a different kind of polygamy [i]. *Inheritances.*

They marry their daughters for the moſt part at twelve years of age; and many have children before that time, who are generally very ſmall, poſſibly becauſe their mothers marry ſo young: notwithſtanding their labour is ſo eaſy, that midwives are almoſt unneceſſary. The Malabâr, as well as African women, as ſoon as they are delivered, waſh themſelves, and take no farther care of their infants than to give them ſuck. *Marry very young.*

[h] Dellon, p. 104, & ſeqq. [i] Hamilt. p. 312.

Burials. In Malabâr all dead bodies are interred, excepting thoſe of their princes, the Nambouri, Brâmmans, and Nayers, which are burned; but the privilege of marrying ſo many huſbands as they pleaſe, exempts the women from the cruel obligation of burning themſelves [b].

Theft rigorouſly puniſhed. Juſtice is adminiſtered in Malabâr with much impartiality. Murder is ſeldom puniſhed with death, nor does the law appoint any puniſhment for it, leaving it to the diſcretion of the kindred to take what ſatisfaction they think fit: but they are the ſevereſt people in the world in caſe of theft; for whoever ſteals but a bunch of pepper, or the value of it, pays for it with his life.

Their priſons. They have no cloſe or barricaded priſons in Malabâr, nor are their criminals ſtrongly guarded; they only load them with fetters, which are never taken off till they are either diſcharged or executed.

Trial by ordeal. All cauſes, both civil and military, are pleaded before the prince, where both parties produce their evidence; but if witneſſes be wanting, or they do not ſufficiently clear the point, the accuſed may purge himſelf by undergoing the ordeal.

Sentence and puniſhment. The prince in perſon always pronounces ſentence, from whence there lies no appeal; and if the criminal be condemned to death, he is forthwith led out of the palace, and executed without delay. As the Indians of theſe parts eſteem it as the greateſt honour to obey their prince without reſerve, they have no occaſion for common executioners, the Nayers belonging to the guards being the moſt forward to do that office; and if the crime be very heinous, it is common for the next of kin of the criminal to ſtrive who ſhall give him the fatal blow, to wipe off, as they ſay, the ſtain which he has brought on the family. Their uſual way of putting to death is by running a lance through the criminal's body; then it is cut into quarters, and hung upon trees [c].

Write on leaves. The Malabârs make no uſe of pens, ink, and paper; but write on leaves of flags or reeds, which grow in moraſſes: they are generally about eighteen inches long, and one and a half broad, tapering at the extremities, having a ſmall hole at one end for a ſtring to paſs through; this leaf is thicker than our royal paper, and very tough. They write with the point of a bodkin, or ſtyle, holding the leaf acroſs their left thumb-end, over the foremoſt

[b] Dellon, p. 106 112, [c] Ibid. p. 101.

finger.

ſinger. The Malabâr language is ſpoken not only in the country to the weſt of Cape Komori, and in the Maldive iſlands, but alſo in thoſe to the eaſtward of it; viz. Madûra, Tanjaor, and Karnâta, as far as the mountains near Ponganowr, in that kingdom; in which parts it is called the Tamul, or Damul language.

Their arms, and exerciſe.

The arms of the Malabârs are the lance, ſcymitar, the bow, and muſket; at all which they are exceedingly dexterous. Their muſkets are very light, though ſix feet long, and they are excellent markſmen. Their bows are ſix feet long, and their arrows three, which they carry in their hands, and not in a quiver, as at Surât; and are maſters of it to ſuch a degree, that Dellon has frequently ſeen them ſhoot one arrow into the air, and hit it with a ſecond. Beſides theſe arms, they have faſtened to their ſides, with an iron hook, a large bayonet about ſix inches broad, and a foot and a half long, which they uſe in cloſe engagements; thoſe who wear ſcymitars make uſe of bucklers: all carry their arms naked, and very bright, without ſcabbards, or other covers. They train their children to the bow from the time they are able to walk; and in each kingdom there are academies maintained at the prince's charge, where the youth are inſtructed at their weapons; who often perform their exerciſes before the king, or others of eminent rank.

Single combat.

If there happens to be a family-quarrel among the Nayers, they chooſe their meaneſt vaſſals to decide it; who, armed with certain knives, or bayonets, invented for the purpoſe, fight naked before the king and his whole court, till one of them is ſlain; an event which terminates the diſpute.

Commerce.

Very few of the Malabâr Hindûs, eſpecially the Nayers, apply themſelves to commerce, which is the reaſon that moſt of the commodities, either imported or exported, paſs through the hands of the Mohammedans. Theſe have for many ages ſettled in the country for ſake of trade, chiefly on the ſea-coaſt, near the mouths of rivers, for the convenience of foreign merchants, who are for the moſt part Europeans.

Mohammedans ſettled there.

Theſe Mohammedans are diſtinguiſhed from the Hindûs only by their beards, turbâns, and veſts; but, according to Dellon, are a vile and treacherous ſort of people. Many of them live by piracy, and attack all they meet, without any reſpect to religion or nation, ſparing friends no more than foes. Indeed piracy is looked upon as a free exerciſe in thoſe parts, and the kings take no cogni-

zance

zance of what is tranſacted on the open ſea, which they conſider as out of their juriſdiction: the rather as they have an intereſt in ſuch robberies, thoſe corſairs paying the tenth of what booty they take to the prince under whom they live.

Great pirates. Their veſſels, called paros, are ſhaped like galleys, and generally carry five or ſix hundred men; they cruize all along the Indian coaſt, even as far as the Red Sea: they ſeldom make ſlaves of Mohammedans or Pagans, unleſs they be perſons from whom they expect an extraordinary ranſom; but they detain all Chriſtians, who are ſure to die in captivity, unleſs they are ranſomed, or turn Muſſulmans. At their firſt going abroad with one of theſe veſſels, they reſolve to ſprinkle it with the blood of the firſt Chriſtian they happen to take; but of all Europeans, the Portugueſe are moſt liable to feel the marks of their cruelty: for this reaſon they are declared enemies to theſe rovers, and when they take any, carry them generally to Goa, where they are chained to the oar, or ſent in irons to the powder-houſe, from whence there is ſeldom any redemption.

Cruel to Chriſtians.

Pagods, and church lands. The pagods, or temples of the Pagans, are without the cities, though ſome of the richer ſort have them in their houſes: they are commonly large, and very magnificent, generally covered with copper, and ſometimes with ſilver. Each has a baſon near it for the people to waſh in before they approach their images, and maintains a number of Brâmmans, according to the largeneſs of its revenues. Every day a certain quantity of rice is allowed, as well for the uſe of the poor who live near it, as of ſtrangers of all religions who paſs that way, and are entertained in barracks, where they may ſleep if night ſurpriſes them in their journey.

Some of the richeſt temples have large territories belonging to them, from whence ariſe their revenues. Theſe church-lands are held ſo ſacred, that if any perſon happens to ſhed blood upon them, though under the greateſt neceſſity, and in his own defence, he is puniſhed with death, without regard to his merit or quality; and they are ſo rigorous in this reſpect, that if the offender eſcapes by flight, the next a-kin to him muſt ſuffer in his ſtead [d].

Objects of worſhip. The Hindûs not only worſhip many images which have no reſemblance to any thing on earth, but they adore ſeveral kinds of living creatures, and above all the ſun and

[d] Dellon, p. 52, 108, & ſeq.

moon.

moon. The ſacrifices which they make to their gods conſiſt always of things that are inanimate; nor are their altars ever ſtained with blood, the ſhedding of which they hold in the greateſt abhorrence of all things. As at the appearance of the new moon they make great rejoicings, ſo when ſhe is eclipſed they come forth, making moſt horrible outcries, to frighten away the dragon, who, as they ſay, is then endeavouring to devour her. They approach their kings with the ſame veneration which they pay to their gods; and reverence old age in ſo high a degree, that the moſt eminent of the Nayers will not ſit down before thoſe who are conſiderably older than themſelves, although their enemies [e].

CHAP. XXV.

Deſcription of the remaining Countries of the Peninſula.

SECT. I.

Kingdom of Madûra, or Madûrey.

Kingdom of Madûra.

AT Cape Komori, commonly called Komorîn, begins the kingdom of Madûra, or rather Madûrey. It is bounded on the eaſt by the dominions of the king of Tanjaor; on the ſouth, by the Indian ſea; weſt, by the country of Malabâr, from whence it is ſevered by the mountains of Gâtti; and north, by the territories of Mayſſûr, and thoſe belonging to the governor of Jinji. This kingdom is as large as Portugal, extending about three degrees and a half from ſouth to north, and is in breadth about eighty miles where moſt extended. It is reckoned to contain ſeventy palleakarens, who are abſolute lords in their reſpective ſtates; but pay a tax which the king of Madûra lays upon them. This prince can eaſily bring into the field twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe; he has beſides five hundred elephants, which are of great ſervice to him in war.

[e] Dellon, p. 52, 111.

The

Capital city.

The capital of the kingdom, which lies about two degrees more north than the Cape, and bears the ſame name of Madûrey, is incloſed with a double wall, fortified after the ancient manner with ſquare towers, and parapets, well furniſhed with cannon. The inſide of the fortreſs, which one may walk round in leſs than two hours, is divided into four parts, of which thoſe to the eaſt and ſouth contain the king's palace, which is a labyrinth of ſtreets, ponds, groves, halls, galleries, and colonades, intermixed with houſes. When the kings of Madûra reſided there, it was filled wholly with women and eunuchs. The plan of this palace is ſaid to have been projected by an European; and indeed there are ſeveral ornaments of European architecture mixed with the Indian [f].

Proceſſion of image-cars.

In the ſecond part of the fortreſs ſtands the temple of Shokanaden, the idol adored at Madûra, ſurrounded with a triple wall, the whole magnificently built; and near one of the porticos a ſtately car, for parading the image on its feſtival day. Not far diſtant are three other triumphal cars, one of which is ſo very large, that it may require four thouſand men to draw it; for at theſe times no fewer than four hundred men, of different functions, are placed upon it; and there are five ſtages, or ſtories, ſuſtained by great poſts, each ſtage having ſeveral galleries. When this machine is covered with painted callicoes, ſilks of different colours, ſtreamers, banners, feſtoons, and ſuch like ornaments, it makes a very agreeable ſpectacle; eſpecially if ſeen in a dark night, by the light of a thouſand torches. The car is drawn under the ſound of drums, trumpets, hautboys, and other inſtruments, and moves ſo ſlowly, that they are three days going round the fortreſs.

Court removed to Triſhirapâlli city.

The city has loſt much of its ancient ſplendor ſince it was ruined in part by the king of Meſſur, and the latter kings transferred their court to Triſhirapâlli, which is thus become the capital of the kingdom [g].

Triſhirapâlli is a very populous city, and of great extent; it contains above three hundred thouſand inhabitants, and is the largeſt fortreſs between Cape Komori and Golkonda. They reckon it forty leagues diſtant from Madûrey, on account of the way one is obliged to go a-

[f] Bouchet, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 60, & ſeq.

[g] Bouchet, ubi ſupra, p. 65, & ſeq.

bout

bout to avoid the woods, which are infeſted with robbers; but to make amends, the road lies through an agreeable walk, ſet with trees on both ſides. It has been often beſieged by numerous armies, without ſucceſs, ſo that the Hindûs ſay it is impregnable. It has a double incloſure of walls, fortified with ſixty ſquare towers, eighty or a hundred paces aſunder; the ſecond wall, which is higher than the firſt, is mounted with a hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, and divided into two fortreſſes, called the fortreſs of the north and of the ſouth. In this latter is a high mountain, which ſerves to diſcover the approach of an enemy. Towards the middle of the hill ſtands the arſenal, and at the foot of it the king's palace.

The ditch which ſurrounds the fortreſs is wide and deep, full of water, and has ſome crocodiles in it. The city has four large gates, which face the four cardinal points. The river Kâweri, which is a branch of the Kolorân, waſhes the fortreſs from weſt to eaſt; and above Triſhirapâlli they have cut from it a large and deep canal, which conveys the water round the city, where are ſeen many public ſquares and bazars. Beyond the Kâweri runs another branch of the Kolorân; and between theſe two great rivers ſtands the pagod of Shirangam. *River Kâweri.*

The palace of Triſhirapâlli is not inferior for beauty to that of Madûrey. It conſiſts of a collection of halls, galleries, and inner apartments. The divân, or court of juſtice, is ſupported by fine pillars, very high, contrary to the cuſtom of the Indians. The gardens are not comparable to thoſe of Europe. The Romiſh miſſionaries have ſome churches in the city, and one three leagues off; where they reſide for more ſecurity. *The king's palace.*

To the kingdom of Madûrey belongs moſt of the pearl fiſhery, which begins at Cape Komori, and ends at the promontory of Koil, in the principality of Marava. On this coaſt there are ſeveral places in the kingdom of Madûrey; the chief of which are Manapar and Tutukurîn. The firſt lies about the middle of the coaſt, where the Dutch have a factory; which ſtands on a high ground, about a mile from the ſea. It was formerly a beautiful Romiſh church; but afterwards the Hollanders converted it to another uſe. Tutukurîn, or Tutekarîn, is the principal if not only city on the fiſhery coaſt. At a diſtance one would take it for a place filled with magnificent houſes; but, although it be well peopled, it is in nothing ſuperior to the other cities of India. The Dutch, *Fiſhery coaſt.* *Manapar.*

to

to whom it belongs, have built there a ſmall fortreſs [h]. It ſtands at the mouth of the river Perie Arrû; where there is a good ſafe harbour. The country produces much cotton-cloth, but none fine. This colony ſuperintends a pearl-fiſhery, that lies a little to the northward, and brings the Dutch company twenty thouſand pounds yearly tribute, according to report [i]. They are bred in oyſters, of a very large ſize; ſome in the fleſh, which is rank, yet eaten; others in the liquor, and ſome fixed to the ſhell. They are ſized by ſifting. Seed-pearl is found in the ſand. Sea-horns, or ſiankos, are diſcovered on this coaſt; of which they make bracelets all over the Indies. The divers made uſe of in the pearl-fiſhery, are the Parias, or Parvas; who by uſe ſtay a long time under water to gather the oyſters.

Pearl fiſhery.

The ſoil bad.

The coaſt of Madura is deſtitute of graſs, herb, or plant; excepting thiſtles and houſleek: nor will cocoa-trees grow there; yet it abounds with hares and partridges. Here are mice as large as cats, who dare not attack them. This country was part of Biſnâgar, or Narſinga; from which the Naïk, who was governor, diſmembered it. The inhabitants are by ſome called Badegas; are good ſoldiers, but inferior to the Malabârs [k].

SECT. II.

Principality of Marava.

Marava.

TO the eaſt of Madûrey lies the kingdom, or principality of Marava, or the Maravas. It has to the ſouth and eaſt the ſea, and to the north Tanjaor. The capital city, where the prince reſides, is Ramanadaburam, ſix or ſeven miles from the eaſtern coaſt, and twenty from the promontory of Koyel, or Koil, the moſt ſouth-eaſtern part of Marava; which makes an oblong ſquare, about eighty miles in length from ſouth or north, and forty in breadth from eaſt to weſt.

The point of Koyel bounds the coaſt of the fiſhery eaſt-ward, and begins that of Choromandel. Due eaſt about three quarters of a mile, is an iſle named by ſome Ramanankor, by others Râmana Koyel; which ſignifies *the Temple of Râmma*, or *Râma*. This iſle is joined to

[h] Bouchet, p. 69, & ſeqq. [i] Hamilton, p. 336. [k] Nieuhoff's Voy. ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. ii. p. 260.

the

the point by a bridge, not compoſed of arches, but of rocks, or great ſtones, which riſe two or three feet above the ſurface of the ſea, which is very ſhallow in that place, and form gaps for the current to paſs through. They are of an enormous ſize. They leave ſpaces between them from three to ten feet wide: and the gaps, or intervals, through which barks paſs, are ſtill wider. It is not eaſy to imagine, that this is a work of art; for one cannot conceive from whence ſuch enormous maſſes could be taken, and ſtill leſs how they could be brought hither. The Hindûs ſay, it was built by their gods, when they went to attack the capital of the iſland of Seylan: but this is certain, that the prince of Marava, when purſued by the kings of Madûrey, uſed to retire into the iſle, by means of great beams laid upon thoſe rocks, which are ſo many platforms; over which he paſſed his army, with all his train of cannon and elephants[l].

Râmana Koyel.

The iſle of Râmmana Koyel abounds with cattle; yet is not very fertile. The temple, or pagod, whence the iſland takes its name, ſtands near the ſea-ſide, and is ſaid to contain an immenſe treaſure. The foundation is ſupported by ſtones of a vaſt ſize, to break the force of the waves when the ſouth winds blow. The teuver, or lord of the iſle, has built a ſtrong caſtle facing the continent, furniſhed with cannon, which command a narrow paſſage, leading to Manaar, Jafnapatnam, and Negapatnam.

Reef of rocks.

From this iſle is continued a reef of rocks and ſands, commonly called Adam's Bridge; which extends as far as the iſland of Manaar, on the coaſt of Zeloan, or Seylan. This reef has ſo little water on it, that the ſmalleſt boats cannot paſs but at Manaar; and there the channel has not above ſix feet water, ſo that none but ſmall veſſels can paſs: beſides they muſt unlade, and pay cuſtoms to the Dutch; then, the veſſel being hawled over the bridge, they take in their cargo again[m].

[l] Bouchet, ubi ſupr. p. 34, & ſeqq. [m] Baldæus, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 584. Hamilton, ubi ſupr. p. 337.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Kingdom of Tanjoar.

Tanjaor kingdom.

THE kingdom of Tanjaor lies to the north of Marava, and to the east of Madûrey, being washed on the east by the sea. The lands of this little state are the wonder of all the southern India, and watered by the river Kaweri, which is a branch of the great Kolorân.

The capital.

The prince's revenues amount to several milions. Tanjaor, the capital city, was originally no more than a pagod, or temple. This fortress has a double wall, like that of Trishirapâlli; but is not so well built. Its ditches also are shallower, and not so easily filled with water. The inner fortress includes the king's palace, with some pretty towers, but no appearance of magnificence.

Negapatam.

The coast of Tanjaor takes a sweep from south to east, for one half of its extent to Cape Kalliamera, or Kallamedou; from whence it runs north: and six leagues beyond it lies Negapatam, which the Indians call Negapatenam; that is, *the City of Serpents* [n]. It is a Dutch colony and fortress, taken from the Portuguese by the assistance of the king of Tanjaor. It stands on the river Waddawarrû, which terminates Golkonda, and formerly bounded the dominions of Malabâr; although their language was, and still is, used farther northward: however, the waters of this river, which is a branch of the Kâweri, and washes the walls of the fort, being found very unwholesome, the town is supplied from another, four leagues distant. This colony produces very little besides tobacco and long cloth [o].

Trankebar: a Danish colony.

The next place of note on this coast to the north is Taranganbouri, called by the Europeans Tranquebar and Trinquebar. The name signifies *the City of the Waves of the Sea.* It is at the mouth of the Kâweri. This is a colony belonging to the Danes since 1620. The streets are strait, and the houses handsome. The square fortress, called Danesburgh, appears very agreeable when viewed from the sea. A great number of Portuguese are settled here; and to them the Danes owe the preservation of the fort, when it was besieged some years ago by the king of Tanjaor, who was constrained to retire. This

[n] Bouchet, ubi supr. p. 32, 74, & seqq. [o] Hamilt. ubi supr. p. 348, 351.

fort

fort is ſtrong, the ſea waſhing one half of its walls; but the colony is miſerably poor. In 1684, they were ſo diſtreſſed, that they pawned three baſtions of their fort to the Dutch for money to buy proviſions: but next year they redeemed all again by an unknown fund (A). They ſtill keep their fort, but drive an inconſiderable trade. What they live by is the hire, which they freight their ſhips for to certain parts of the Indies. The product of the country is cloth, white and dyed. The Daniſh miſſioners reſide here. Half a day's journey farther north is Kaveri-pattevam, called by Europeans Kaveri-pattam, which was formerly a great city, and very famous among the Indians; but at preſent lies almoſt wholly in ruins. The air is good, and the French have a factory there.

Kaveri-pattevam.

SECT. IV.

Kingdom of Karnáta.

TO the north of Tanjaor lies the kingdom of Karnâta, Karnâtika, or Karnâtek, as the Mogols call it; which was formerly a monarchy of great extent as well as ſplendour, under the names of Biſnâgar and Narſinga. At preſent it is reduced to much narrower bounds, though ſtill of conſiderable dimenſions; and is become a province of the Great Mogol's empire. It is bounded on the eaſt by the bay of Bengâl; on the north by the river Kriſtna, which divides it from Golkonda; on the weſt by Viſapûr, or Viſiapûr; and on the ſouth by the kingdoms of Meſſûr and Tanjâor: being in length, from ſouth to north, about three hundred and forty-five miles; and two hundred and ſeventy-ſix miles in breadth, from eaſt to weſt.

Kingdom of Karnâta.

This country is for the moſt part champain, fertile, and populous. Towards the middle there are ſome mountains running northward, which ſeem to be branches of the Gâtti. The inhabitants are called Badagas. To the eaſt and ſouth of thoſe mountains, the Tamul, or Damul, language, the ſame with the Malabâric is ſpoken; and to the weſt and north-weſt of thoſe hills, no-

Inhabitants called Badagas.

(A) It was ſuſpected that the Engliſh ſhip Formoſa was taken and ſunk by two of their ſhips, which at that time cruiſed between Surât and Cape Komori.

thing is in uſe but the Talank, Talenga, or Kanarîn [p]; which prevails in Viſiapûr, and from Malabâr to Surât, and the provinces between that city and Golkonda.

Poſſeſſed by the Mogols. An account has been already given of the revolutions in this kingdom, ſo low as the year 1650, when the monarchy was ſubverted, and the kingdom over-run by the kings of Golkonda and Viſiapûr; who divided it between them. The deſcendants of the râjah, who then reigned, retired to the mountains abovementioned; and ſeem to have preſerved ſome kind of ſovereignty in the moſt ſouthern parts. About the year 1687, the Mogols ſeized on all that was in the hands of the two kings before mentioned; and ſince then have reduced the whole in a manner under their power.

Chief cities. Karnata is full of large and populous cities. The firſt we meet with towards the ſouth is Jinji, not long ago the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name. It ſtands about twelve leagues north-weſt of Pondicherri, on the coaſt of Choromandel.

Jinji. About five leagues north-weſt of Jinji is Shettam-pettou, at preſent the metropolis of all Karnâta, and ſeat of the nabâb, or viceroy of the Great Mogol, in the latitude of about 12 degrees 30 minutes. The capital of this country was Kanjivoram, or Kanjibouram, a noble city, four leagues diſtant from the river Palamalerow, eighteen leagues north-caſtward of Shettam-pettou, and one day's journey from Meliapûr. It contained within its walls more than three hundred thouſand inhabitants, if one may believe the Indians; and there were to be ſeen, as elſewhere, towers of a very large ſize, temples, public halls, and very handſome tanks. But the Mogols having, about the beginning of this century, taken it from the Hindûs, they laid it almoſt in ruins, and made the other place the chief ſeat of their conqueſt [q]; which afterwards they removed to Arkat, the preſent capital, about thirteen leagues diſtant, to the north-by-weſt.

Shettam-pettou, the capital

Arani Arkat. Proceeding ſtill northward from Shettam-pettou, about nine leagues, we meet with Arani, a large city on the river Karva, or Karvey, ſubject to a Palliagar; and four leagues farther Arkat, another, on the river Palaru, or Palamalerow, ſubject to the Mogols, under the government of a nabâb.

[p] P. Maudit, Lett. Edif. tom. vi. p. 41. [q] Baldæus, ap. Church. Collect. vol. iii. p. 588.

Five

Five leagues west of Arkat, on the same river, we find Velour, another great city, the Indian capital of Karnata, before it was removed to Kanjibouram; but now in the hands of the Mogols, and seat also of a nabâb. It is the last place which continued in the hands of the Maharattas, from whom it was taken by the Mogols in 1702, after a siege of several months [r]. *Velour city.*

About twelve leagues north-east-by-north of Velour, and twenty-two west-north-west of Fort St. George, is Tiroupati, Troupadi, or Tripeti, a city on a hill, with a famous pagod. Chandegri, the capital of Karnata, or Bisnagar, about the year 1590, was in being, within three miles to the north or north-west of this place. *Tiroupati famous pagod.*

About twenty-five leagues west-by-north of Velour stands Kolalam, or Koralam, a great city of the Mogols: between the two lie several others, as Pallikonda, Goulialam, Jedudourgalow, Kadapanattam, and Moula-Vakili, to the north, under the same masters; and to the southward Peddanajam-dourgam, and Venkatighirri, in the hands of Pallagars, or Hindû princes. *Koralam.*

Still more to the south, near the borders of Mesfûr, are Kangondi, Kapiganati, and Ani Kallow, Palliagarrens likewise; and farther west Bengoulourow, a great city about twelve leagues south-west of Korolam; and eleven leagues to the north-west of this last place stands Chinnaballabaram. *Kangondi.*

About twenty-five leagues west-north-west of Chinnaballabaram lies Shirpi, a considerable city, the most westward of Karnata on that side; and not many leagues from the borders of the territories of Ikkeri, adjoining to Kanâra, on the western coast of the peninsula. *Chirpi.*

Twenty leagues north-east of Shirpi, and as many north-north-west of Chinnaballabaram, is Penoukonda, or Pennagonda, on the river Pennerow, formerly the capital of the empire of Bisnâgar; whither the great râjah removed his residence, after the ruin of the capital of that name by the kings of Visiapûr and Golkonda, in the year 1565. It is now in the hands of the Mogols. *Penoukonda.*

Twelve leagues north-east of Chinnaballabaram is Gummi Paleam, a very considerable city, the seat of a Palliagar; and twenty-two leagues more from Gummi Paleam, in the same direction, stands Kadapa, a great city, with a Mogol governor. *Gummi Paleam, Kadapa.*

[r] P. Tachard, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. vi. p. 245.

This city lies within a few leagues of the river Penarû; which paſſes by Nellarû, and falls into the gulf of Bengâl, ten miles beyond Gangapatnam. Higher up, on the ſame river, about ſixteen leagues north-weſt of Kadapa, ſtands Gandikotta, a conſiderable city and famous fortreſs, in the latitude of fifteen degrees. It is the ſeat of a nabâb, and was taken by Amîr Jemla, the king of Golkonda's general, from the Hindûs, in the year 1652. Tavernier, who arrived there eight days after it was taken, informs us, that it is ſituated on the point of a high mountain; there being but one narrow aſcent, in ſome places not above ſeven or eight feet wide, cut out of the hill, which has on the right hand a moſt hideous precipice, at the bottom whereof runs a vaſt river. On the top there is a plain about half a league long and one quarter broad, ſowed with rice and millet, as well as watered with many little ſprings. The top of the plain, on the ſouth-ſide, where the city is built, is encompaſſed with precipices; two rivers running at the bottom, which form the point: ſo that there is but one gate to enter the city from the plain; and that too fortified with three good walls of free-ſtone, beſides moats, paved at the bottom with the ſame materials. Thus the Hindûs had only one quarter of the city, containing five hundred paces, to defend. Yet they had no more than two iron guns; one, a twelve pounder, planted on the gate; the other, an eight-pounder, on a kind of baſtion. Nevertheleſs, the nabâb could not have taken the place, but for the aſſiſtance of ſome European engineers, who mounted four pieces of cannon upon an aſcent; which obliged the râjah, though famous for his courage and experience, to capitulate, after a ſiege of three months [1].

Gandikotta city, and ſtrong fortreſs.

Tadimeri, Annatapouram.

Twelve leagues ſouth-weſt of Gandikotta, and twenty-two almoſt due north of Gummi Paleam, ſtands Tadimeri, a great city, belonging to a Palliagar; and eight leagues from thence, north-weſt-by-north, another, called Anantapouram, on the river which falls into the Pen-arû.

Raydourgan, Ranibeddalourou.

To the weſt of Anantapouram eighteen leagues, ſtands Raydourgan, the ſeat of a Palliagar, on a river which falls into the Kriſhna, the utmoſt bounds of Karnata, northward; and twenty-two leagues weſt of Raydourgan, is Ranibeddalourou, another great city, and

[1] Tavernier's Trav. part ii. p. 98.

Palli-

Palliagar, on the river Tunje-badra, which runs north-eaſtward into the Kriſhna. Gandikotta, Anantapouram, Raydourgan, and Ranibeddalourou, lie nearly in a line from eaſt to weſt, and in fifteen degrees of latitude; this laſt being the moſt weſtern city of Karnata, of any conſiderable rank, and not far from the borders of the countries of Ikkeri and Sonda; which laſt borders on the territories of Goa, belonging to the Portugueſe.

Laſtly, proceeding north-eaſtward from Ranibeddalourou, about twenty-two leagues, and near the ſame diſtance from the Kriſhna, lies Biſnâgar, the ancient capital of Karnâta, when in its ſplendour, then known by the names of Biſnâgar and Narſinga, as hath been already remarked. It is ſituated about forty leagues almoſt due eaſt of Goa, eighteen north-weſt-by-north of Raydourgam, and three leagues weſt of the river Tunjebadra. *Biſnâgar city.*

Theſe are the principal inland cities of Karnâta, at leaſt known to the Jeſuit miſſionaries; but among them lie interſperſed a great many others, partly in the hands of Palliagars, or Palliagarens, and partly in the poſſeſſion of the Mogols. Having thus given our readers ſome idea of the inland parts of Karnâta, let us next preſent them with a view of the ſea-coaſt, commonly called Choromandel; which the commerce of Europeans has made better known to us.

The firſt place of conſequence which we meet with on this coaſt, is Porto Novo, ſo called by the Portugueſe, when the coaſts of India belonged to them: but when Aureng Zîb ſubdued Golkonda, the Great Mogol placed a fouzdâr in it, and gave it the name of Mohammed Bander, Mohammed's Port. The country is fertile, healthful, and pleaſant: great quantities of cotton-cloth of ſeveral ſorts are made here, and exported to foreign parts. The Portugueſe are numerous, but the bulk of the inhabitants are Hindûs. The Engliſh and Dutch have alſo ſome houſes in this port[t]. *Porto Novo.*

Fort St. David's is next, a colony and fortreſs belonging to the Engliſh, who bought it from a Mâharâtta prince, in 1686, for ninety thouſand pagodas. The fort is pretty ſtrong, and ſtands cloſe to a river, and the territories extend eight miles every way. The country is like the former, and watered with ſeveral rivers, which are as good *Fort St. David.*

[t] Hamilton, ubi ſupra, p. 353. Bouchet, ubi ſupra, p. 29.

as walls to the colony. About 1698, the fort narrowly escaped being surprised by the freebooters who inhabited the neighbouring mountains, and got admittance under pretence of lodging the Mogol's treasure there; but they were all killed before the ambush without could force open the gate. This colony produces store of long cloths. The black cattle here are small, but plentiful and cheap, while the rivers and seas abound with fish. Kuddelor, or Koudelour, lies about a mile to the southward, on a river capable of receiving ships of two hundred tons.

Ponticherri. Ponticherri, or Pondisherri, is the next place of note; a colony settled by the French, about five leagues to the north of Fort St. David. It is the chief establishment which they have in the Indies, and the head-quarters of their missioners. The fortifications are fine, regular, and strong, but its trade small. The city is large, and the streets are straight. The houses of Europeans are of brick, the Indian of earth. About the year 1690 the Dutch, from Batavia, besieged and took it by capitulation; the French, at that time, being destitute of defence; but at the conclusion of king William's reign they were obliged to restore it. Since that time it has been twice reduced by the English.

Konnimîr. After Ponticherri follows Konnimîr, or Konjimîr, where the English had a factory, which they quitted on the purchase of Fort St. David. Near the town are seven pagods, famous for sanctity; and here the persecution began against St. Thomas. Beyond Konjimîr is Saderas Patam, called also Sadras and Sadrats, a small factory of the Dutch for buying up cloth. It stands on the south side of the river Palamalerow; and some leagues farther on lies Kabelon, or Kovolam, where the Ostenders settled a factory [u].

Saderas Patam.

St. Thomas. The next place northward, on the coast, is St. Thomas, called also Meliapour, or, to speak like the Indians, Maylabouram, that is, *the City of Peacocks*, because the princes who formerly reigned in this city, had a peacock for their arms. The Portuguese, to secure themselves against the Dutch, surrendered it to the king of Golkonda, but soon after, in 1672, the French, under the conduct of M. De la Hay, took it; but, after two years, were obliged to surrender it for want of succours from Europe. That king, fearing the French might return and retake it, dismantled both the city and fortress. The Portuguese, however,

[u] Hamilton, p. 357, & seqq.

still

ſtill retain a part, which they have walled, and fortified with baſtions [w].

The city of St. Thomas was formerly the beſt mart on the Choromandel coaſt; but at preſent the trade is inconſiderable, and the inhabitants very few and poor, owing to the neighbourhood of Fort St. George, which is but one league diſtant to the north; a colony and city, belonging to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company.

Madrâs, or Fort St. George.

Fort St. George is called alſo Madrâs, and Madraſpatan, from the city of that name near which it is ſituated. The natives give it the appellation of Jenna-Pattenam, or, as the Engliſh generally pronounce it, China-patam. The town is divided into two parts, called the White and Black Towns: in the former dwell the Europeans. It is walled quite round, with ſeveral baſtions or bulwarks to defend it, ſo that it can only be attacked at the ends, the ſea and river fortifying its ſides. It is about four hundred paces long, and a hundred and fifty broad, divided into pretty regular ſtreets, Fort St. George ſtanding in the center. There are two churches in it, one for Proteſtants, the other for the Romiſh ſervice. There is a good hoſpital, and mint for coining rupîs and pagodas in the city, with a town-hall, and a priſon for debtors underneath [x].

Bad Situation.

The Black Town is inhabited by Gentoos, Mohammedans, and Indian Chriſtians; theſe are Armenians and Portugueſe, who have their reſpective churches, all religions being tolerated here. It is walled towards the land, the ſides towards the ſea and White town being open. Madrâs fronts the ſea, which is more turbulent here than on any other part of the coaſt of Choromandel. The foundation is in ſand, with a ſalt-water river on its back, which hinders all freſh ſprings from coming near the town within a mile; and in the rainy ſeaſon cauſes inundations on one ſide, while the ſea often threatens deſtruction on the other: again, from April to September, the ſun is ſcorching hot, ſo that, but for the ſea-breezes, the place could not poſſibly be inhabited. The diamond mines being no more than a week's journey from Fort St. George, there is plenty of theſe precious ſtones at Madrâs. Any one may dig at the mines after agreeing with the Great Mogol's officer for a ſpot of ground, which is walled about, and centinels placed round it. All ſtones above ſixty grains weight belong to the emperor, and it is death to ſecrete any of them.

[w] Bouchet, p. 21.

[x] Hamilton's New Account of the E. Ind. vol. i. p. 358, & ſeq.

Trade there. The colony produces very little of its own growth or manufacture for foreign markets, which yet it ſupplies with foreign commodities, particularly China, Perſia, and Mokha, which commerce its ſhares with Surât. The colony is well peopled, there being computed to be eighty thouſand inhabitants in the towns and villages, among whom may be reckoned four or five hundred Europeans; but as their proviſions are brought from other parts, any enemy, who is ſuperior to them at ſea, may eaſily diſtreſs them [y].

Palliacatta. The next place to Fort St. George is Palliacatta, called alſo Paleakatta and Polikat. This is a town belonging to the Dutch, who have a fort there named Gueldria, with a few ſoldiers in garriſon. Here is another belonging to the Mogols. It was formerly the principal factory which they had on the coaſt of Choromandel.

There are ſeveral places northward which formerly carried on a foreign trade, but are now neglected. Armagun is one, and Kiſnipatam another; which laſt has the benefit of a large river; ſo has Karera beyond it. Laſtly, Petapoli, or Pettipoli, ſeated at one of the mouths of the river Kriſhna, had once both Engliſh and Dutch factories ſettled in it; but they withdrew many years ago, to avoid the impoſition of the inland râjahs. This place is the boundary of the kingdom of Karnâta upon the coaſt [z].

SECT. V.

Principality of Ikkeri.

Ikkeri principality. IT remains only to give ſome account of the dominions of Ikkeri and Mayſſour; two countries formerly belonging to Karnata. Among the governors in Vidia Nâgar, corruptly Biſnâgar, who, after the great revolution in 1567, ſet up for ſovereigns in their reſpective diſtricts, the king of Ikkeri, named Venktapa Nayeka, or Naïka, was one. This prince had been a miniſter of that monarch; and, as he was a good ſoldier, ſoon enlarged his territories by ſubduing ſome of his neighbours. The viceroy of Goa, in 1623, ſent an ambaſſador, in the king's name, to cultivate friendſhip with him.

Extent and bounds. The country of Ikkeri extends, in length, from ſouth to north about one hundred and thirty miles, and in

[y] Hamilt. p. 362, 370. [z] Hamilt. p. 372, & ſeq.

breadth

breadth fifty. It adjoins, on the north, to the Sunda Râjah's territories; on the eaſt it has Karnata; on the ſouth Mayſſour; and on the weſt the country of Kanâra, from whence it is ſeparated by the mountains of Gâtti [a]. The chief city is named Ikkeri; lying about three leagues eaſt of the ſame mountains, and ten from Batekâla, on the ſea-coaſt. It ſtands on a fine plain, ſurrounded with three incloſures; the two outermoſt conſiſt of very high canes, very thick, and cloſe planted. They are a good defence againſt horſe and foot; being hard to cut, and not in danger from fire: beſides, they afford much ſhade, as well as verdure, from the herbs which creep upon them. The inner incloſure is a wall, but weak and inconſiderable. Each incloſure has gates, with forts and ditches. Ikkeri is pretty large, but the houſes are ill built. It is moſtly taken up with broad and long ſtreets; ſome of them ſhaded with handſome trees, growing in ponds of water; beſides fields ſet full of trees like groves. So that from the mixture of houſes, lakes, fields, and woods, it makes a very delightful proſpect. The prince's palace is in a fortreſs of no ſmall extent; containing ſeveral ſtreets with houſes and ſhops. The language ſpoken in the country of Ikkeri is the Kanarîn [b]. *Capital city.*

SECT. VI.

Kingdom of Mayſſour, and the Malleams.

THE kingdom of Mayſſour, or Meſſûr, has to the north Ikkeri and Karnâta; to the eaſt, Karnâta; to the ſouth, Madûra; and to the weſt, Malabâr. This dominion, of all thoſe not yet ſubdued by the Mogols, is become moſt conſiderable, by the conqueſt of ſeveral fortreſſes from Madûra, and the other neighbouring ſtates: inſomuch that, ſince the year 1650, it has extended itſelf from the eleventh degree of latitude to the thirteenth. The revenue of the prince is ſaid to amount to near fifteen millions of livres; and he has on foot armies conſiſting of thirty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. *Kingdom of Meſſûr.*

What has rendered the people of Mayſſour ſo formidable to their neighbours, is the cruel and ignominious manner in which they treat their priſoners of war; for *Cruel cuſtom.*

[a] Della Valle's Trav. p. 93. [b] Della Valle, ubi ſupra, p. 120, 121, 144.

they

they cut-off their noſes, and ſalting them, ſend them to court. The officers and ſoldiers are rewarded according to the number of priſoners, whom they uſe in that inhuman manner.

Chief cities. Shirangapatam is the capital of this kingdom. It ſtands in the north-weſt part of the country, on the river Kâweri, about fifty miles from its ſource, in the mountains of Gâtti. The fortreſs reſembles our ancient cities, which were fortified with towers; and has a good ditch. The pagod is famous, but the king's palace has nothing remarkable.

About three leagues to the ſouth of Shirangapatam is the city of Mayſſûra, which has given name to the kingdom. The country is full of towns and villages; eſpecially along the river Kâweri: but we meet with no conſiderable cities beſides thoſe already mentioned, excepting two; Darmapouri, towards the north-eaſt, and Darabarou, in the ſouth, on the borders of Madûra, and in the country of the Malleams, which makes the ſouthern part of Mayſſour, or Meſſûr [c].

The Malleams. The Malleams have their dwellings properly in the high rocky mountains of Gâtti, ſeparating Mayſſour from Malabâr; at the foot of which live the Chriſtians of St. Thomas. They differ from other Malabârians chiefly in their complexion. They are honeſt, good-natured, and charitable, courageous, ingenious, and of good underſtanding. Theft is a thing unknown to them; for they live with their doors open. They inhabit neither cities nor villages; but certain incloſures in the valleys among the rocks. Their houſes are built with canes, very low, and plaiſtered-up with clay. Some live in woods, building their houſes in trees, for ſecurity againſt elephants and tigers. Their lands are fertile, but they do not cultivate any great quantity. The chief ſettlement, which they poſſeſs, is called Priata, thirteen or fourteen leagues from the borders of Madûra.

Form of government. The Malleams are tributary, partly to the king of Turbula, and partly to the prince of Pugnati Perimal: yet are otherwiſe entirely free, being governed by their own laws, under captains, or judges, of their own nation, named Arley; each of which hath five or ſix thouſand men under his juriſdiction. Every incloſure likewiſe has its own judge, named Pandera; to whom they pay ſtrict obedience. Their arms are the ſame with thoſe uſed by the Malabârs. The Malleams pay great reſpect to the ſepulchres of their

[c] Bouchet, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 79, & ſeqq.

an-

anceſtors. Their dreſs is the ſame with that of the Malabârs; except on feſtivals, when they wear a long gown and turbân, like the Mohammedans. At theſe ſolemnities, the maidens play on ruſh pipes, ſmall flutes, and drums. They wear jewels in their ears and noſes.

Since the year 1599, a great number of the Malleams have embraced the Romiſh religion; and a church was erected to St. Michael in the village of Priata. Before they had no temples but their houſes; where they worſhiped domeſtic gods. They pretend to converſe with devils, only to know future events; but not to do miſchief [d]. *Many converted.*

CHAP. XXVI.

The Religion of the Hindûs.

SECT. I.

Of their ſacred Books, with an Abſtract of the Shâſter.

HAVING now diſcuſſed the hiſtory and deſcription of the countries inhabited by the people who are properly called Hindûs, we come, at length, to treat of their religion: the Hindûs, like almoſt all other nations, affirm their religion is of divine original, and contained in a book called the Vedam, or Wedam; which they ſay was delivered to their law-giver, Brâmma, by the Deity himſelf. *Hindû religion treated confuſedly by authors.*

This ſacred volume is divided into four parts, or books; the Rogo Vedam, Iſſura Vedam, Sama Vedam, and Addera [e]. Hence the Vedam is termed by the Hindûs the four books of the law [f]. The Rogo Vedam treats of the firſt cauſe, and the firſt matter; of angels; the ſoul; the reward of good men, and puniſhment of the wicked; of the generation of creatures, and their corruption; what ſin is, and how it may be pardoned; by whom it is remitted, and upon what conditions. The Iſſura Vedam treats of ſuperiors, or governors, veſted with the ſove- *The Vedam, its diviſion and contents.*

[d] Nieuhof. ap. Church. Collect. vol. ii. p. 243. [e] Roger Mœurs des Brammins, chap. v. p. 35. [f] Phillips's Account of Malabar, p. 4, 11, 37.

reign

reign power and dominion. The Sama Vedam relates wholly to morality, inciting to the love of virtue, and hatred of vice and wickedneſs. The Addera Vedam treats of the ceremonies obſerved in the temples, in ſacrifices and on feſtivals; but this laſt part has been for a long time loſt. The Brâmmans ſay, that they have loſt with it a great deal of their power and authority; and that if it was now in being, they would be in greater power and eſteem than the kings themſelves. We learn farther, with regard to this Vedam, or theſe four ſacred books, that they ſeem to be only a collection of the ſuperſtitious practices of their ancient Riſhi, or Mouni, that is, Penitents and Anchorites; to which are joined their opinions concerning the nature of God, the ſoul, and viſible world [g]: that the firſt two books are followed moſt in the peninſula of India; and the two latter in the north, or Hindûſtân [h]: that they contain the theology of the Brâmmans, and are read ſolely by them; ſo that the Weinjas, or Baniyâns, muſt, in their prayers, make uſe of the words not of the Vedam, but of the Shâſter; and the Soudra, or common people, muſt neither mention the Vedam, nor learn the Shâſter [i].

Origin and authority.

Not read in Pagods.

After all, theſe books are not read and explained in the pagods; not only becauſe they contain myſteries ſurpaſſing the vulgar capacity, but alſo becauſe the Brâmmiſh language cannot be tranſlated into the Malabâric. Others ſay they are unintelligible to many of the Brâmmans themſelves [k]: and that they are ſcarce half underſtood by their ableſt doctors. They are not written, as hath been reported, in the Samſkroutam, or Sanſkrit, which is the learned language known to the Brâmmans; but in a language ſtill more ancient. So that the Samſkroutam is only of uſe in explaining certain paſſages inſerted in their books of theology, eſpecially thoſe taken from the latter books of the Vedam; which appears, from the difference of language and ſtyle, to be written five centuries after the firſt.

The Shâſter.

Beſides the Vedam, there are two other ſets of books; the firſt called Shâſter, the ſecond Pûrân; which the Brâmmans perſuade the people came down alſo from heaven for their inſtruction [l]. The Shâſter contains all

[g] Pons, ap. Let. Edif. tom. xxvi. p. 233, & ſeqq. [h] Pons, ap. Let. Edif. tom. xxvi. p. 233, & ſeqq. [i] Roger Mœurs Deſ. Bram. p. 36. [k] Calmet, ap. Let. Edif. tom. xxi. p. 457. [l] Phill. Account of Malabar, p. 4, 40.

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the doctrines, and various ceremonies, found in the four books of the law; being properly the explanation and comment on the Vedam. We are told it was made to settle the sense of the Vedam, and prevent disputes; but do not find it has had that effect. As Shâster, or Shâstrum, signifies *science*, we find books treating of other subjects, particularly philosophy and astronomy, under this title. It is permitted to the Chuderers, or Shudderers, priests of the Shudderi, or Baniyân sect, to read the Shâster; but they must not touch the Vedam, which is monopolized by the Brâmmans.

The Pûrân, or Powrân, are the historical books of the law, and contain the explanation of the Shâster, together with the ancient histories of the Hindûs, both sacred and profane. These are comprised in eighteen books; to which may be added, the twenty-four Agamangol, which are likewise historical [m].

The Pûrân. Legends, or tradition.

This is the account we have of the Pûrân, from the Malabârs themselves. But we have grounds to believe, that they contain the history not only of their first kings, heroes, prophets, penitents, and other eminent men, but also of their inferior gods or divinites. In short, the Pûrân joining both the former systems together, seems to have formed the religion of the vulgar; by introducing the doctrine and worship of those inferior deities, whose history is in these poems displayed with monstrous fictions. The Brâmmans pretend that the three sets of books beforementioned were all delivered by God to Brâmma: but it is obvious that they were published at different times, doubtless to serve different purposes; and that the Poûrân appeared long after the other two, when the present idolatry, to which it is accommodated, came to get footing in the Indies.

The popular theology kept from the laity.

Among the Pûrân, or Powrânum, which signifies *poems*, are the Harma Pourânum, which, we are told, contain the popular theology, or most approved polytheism; and among Shâsters, is the Harma Shâstrum, composed out of the Brâmman, and popular divinity. It signifies *the holy science* or *science of virtue*; and contains the practice of the different religions, or sects, with the sacred rites or ordinances, and laws for administering justice; which treatises of the Harmashâstrum, written by various authors, are multipled ad infinitum [n].

[m] Phill. Account Malabâr, p. 4. 15, 50. Edif. tom. xxvi. p. 233, 239.

[n] Pons, ap. Let.

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There are beſides many other books explaining the law; and a great number current among the Malabârs, which contain the exploits of their gods Chiwens, or Iſſuren, and Wiſhtnou; the hiſtory of the wars of the giants with the Gods; with their miracles, and the way of worſhiping them [o].

Hard to be procured.

As the Brâmmans, or prieſts, have the keeping of their ſacred books, which they will not communicate to their own laity, much leſs to ſtrangers, great ſums have been offered, to no purpoſe, by Europeans [p], for a copy, or only a tranſlation of the Vedam; becauſe it is written in a language which is reckoned ſacred on that account, and known only to the Brâmmans. Some have ſuppoſed that there are no ſuch books in being: but certain it is, a copy of the Vidam was procured by Calmet for the French king's library, in the year 1733; and the Shâſter and Pûrân were lately brought into England by Mr. Fraſer. The Mohammedans have had tranſlations of them for a long time, from whence at leaſt a verſion might have been made, and Mr. Lord procured an abſtract of the Shâſter early in the laſt century.

This abſtract is very ſhort; yet as the Shâſter contains the ſubſtance of the Vedam, it may ſupply the place of it until a tranſlation comes to be made public: and as we find in this abſtract the original of thoſe beings, whom the Hindûs at preſent worſhip as gods, and of the facts on which the Brâmmans have grounded ſo many fictions, it ſerves as a key to open the myſtery, and account for many things which otherwiſe would be inexplicable.

SECT. II.

Abſtract of the Shaſter.

Creation of the elements and viſible world.

THE great God being alone, and reſolving to make his excellency and power manifeſt, by creating a world ſtocked with intelligent animals, he, in the firſt place, as the ground-work, made four elements, earth, air, fire, and water. Theſe elements being confuſedly mixed together, he next divided, and, out of them, formed the ſeveral parts of the viſible world, in the manner following:

Firſt, by ſome great cane, or like inſtrument, God blew upon the waters, which riſing in a bubble or round form,

[o] See Phill. Malab. p. 37, 38, 53, 121, 125. Alſo Dan. Confer. p. 140, & ſeq. [p] Bernier, Mem. Emp. Mogol, tom. iii. p 161.

like

like an egg, and ſpreading by degrees to an immenſe ſpace, made the firmament, which, ſo clear and tranſparent, encompaſſeth the world. Of the earth and moiſture which remained as the ſediment of the waters, the Lord framed a kind of ball or globe; the more ſolid parts whereof became the earth, and the more liquid the ſeas. Then, by a great noiſe, or humming ſound, he placed it in the midſt of the firmament, every way equi-diſtant from it, and called it the lower world. Next he created a ſun and moon in the firmament, to diſtinguiſh the times and ſeaſons. The four elements being thus ſeparated, and aſſigned to their proper places, began to diſcharge their ſeveral offices; the air filled up whatever was empty, the fire nouriſhed with his heat, and the earth, as well as ſeas, brought forth their reſpective animals, to whom the Lord conveyed a ſeminal virtue, that they might be fruitful in their ſeveral capacities.

Firſt man Pourous.

In the laſt place, therefore, God created man, as a being more worthy than the reſt, and capable of contemplating his works. At the Lord's command he roſe out of the earth, his head firſt appearing, and then his body, formed with all its parts. God next conveyed life into him, which, as ſoon as he had received, manifeſted itſelf; for colour began to redden in his lips, his eye-lids to diſcloſe the two lights of nature, the ſeveral parts of his body put themſelves in motion, and his underſtanding being informed, he acknowleged his Maker, and rendered him worſhip.

Firſt woman Parkouti.

That this man, who was made a ſociable creature, might not live alone, God gave him a woman for a companion, who reſembled him no leſs in the qualities of his body than mind. This firſt man's name was Pourous, or Powrows, and the woman's Parkouti, who lived together as huſband and wife, feeding on the fruits of the earth without the deſtruction of any living creature. In proceſs of time theſe two had four ſons, named Brammon, Kutteri, Shudderi, and Wiſe, who differed in their nature according as the elements prevailed in them; for Brammon was of an earthly conſtitution, and therefore melancholic; being alſo ingenious, God appointed him to impart his precepts and laws to the people; for which office his grave and ſerious countenance beſt ſuited him. On this acount, therefore, the Lord delivered to him a book, containing the form of divine worſhip, and the principles of religion.

Their four ſons. Brammon,

Kutteri

Kutteri, Kutteri (H) was of a fiery temper, and had a martial ſpirit; God therefore veſted him with power to ſway kingdoms with the ſceptre, and bring men into order: for this purpoſe the Almighty put a ſword into his hand, which is the inſtrument of victory and dominion.

Shudderi, As Shudderi being of a phlegmatic conſtitution, was mild and converſible, it was thought fit that he ſhould be a merchant, to enrich the commonwealth by commerce, and bring home plenty by means of ſhipping. To put him in mind of his buſineſs, a pair of ſcales were put into his hand, and a bag of weights hung at his girdle.

Wiſe. Wiſe, or Weyz, who was of an airy temper, was endued with invention; and being full of contrivances, was able, at firſt thought, to form any thing in the handicraft or mechanical way. To help him in his profeſſion, he had delivered to him a bag, with variety of tools or inſtruments neceſſary to execute any piece of work which his fancy ſhould deviſe.

Four women created for wives to the ſons of Pourous. The world being in this maiden ſtate, the Almighty gave not Pourous and Parkouti any daughters; but that the work of generation might be free from impurity, God made four women for theſe four men; and for better conveniency of diſperſing, placed them at the four winds, Sawatri in the eaſt, Toddikaſtri in the weſt, Viſagunda in the north, and Jejunogunda in the ſouth [q].

Mean time the ſons of Pourous growing up, God commanded them to travel each a different way, in order to find out the four women who were to be their wives. Brammon travelling eaſtward, at length met with Sawatri, and married her, conformable to the rules preſcribed in the book delivered to him. Kutteri proceeding weſtward, found Toddikaſtri, and, after a terrible combat between them, which laſted three days, they came to a conjugal agreement. Shudderi took his journey northwards, and after diſcovering pearl and diamond mines, lighted upon Viſagunda. Laſtly, Wiſe, called alſo Viſkermah, or *the Hand-man*, from his ſkill in manual arts, after croſſing ſeven ſeas in a veſſel made by him for that purpoſe, ſtopped on the coaſt of Derpe, and built him a houſe there. After ſome time he ſaw Jejunogunda walking by

[q] Lord's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. vi. p. 301, chap. 1.

(H) Kutteri ſignifies a *dagger*; from whence, probably, this martial man and tribe took their name.

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the ſhore, and made his addreſſes to her; but as ſhe treated him with ſcorn, Wîſe prayed to God that he would turn her heart in his favour. This requeſt was granted, on condition that he ſhould erect pagods for God's worſhip, and adore images under green trees; becauſe the Almighty had under their ſhade manifeſted himſelf to him by viſion [r].

The earth peopled.

Theſe things are related at large in Mr. Lord's abſtract, with ſeveral agreeable circumſtances. The four brothers having in this manner peopled the earth, reſolved to return to the place of their nativity in order to ſee their parents; ſo leaving their ſons and daughters behind them, in ſeveral different places, they began their journey back towards the middle of the earth, where, on their arrival, they found Pourous and Parkouti, who received them with banquets and rejoicings. In proceſs of time the four brothers and their wives became parents of many new generations, who ſtrictly conformed to their diviſion into four tribes, without mixing, and followed the inſtructions of their reſpective founders; but as multitude and plenty beget many evils, every thing, by degrees, fell into diſorder; Brammon grew negligent in his piety; Kutteri became cruel and overbearing; Shudderi cheated his brethren with falſe weights; and Wîſe ſet exorbitant rates upon his ware to maintain his extravagancies. And as they were evil in themſelves, ſo they were evil one to another; for Brammon envied Kutteri's greatneſs, and Kutteri diſdaining the quiet and ſolitary ſpirit of Brammon, forbore to pay him the reſpect due to his birthright; nay, he carried his contempt ſo far, as to prize his own laws and government before thoſe of God, only becauſe they came through the hands of Brammon. On the other ſide, he delighted in the ſlaughter of thoſe who diſpleaſed them, laid taxes upon Shudderi, and drained the profits of Wîſe's labours; whilſt they, to revenge his injurious treatment, defrauded and exacted on their brethren. Wiſe likewiſe, to render Brammon ſtill more contemptible than he was, ſought to introduce a new form of religion, concerning the worſhip of images, and bowing to pagods (I), with other ceremonies, which

They diſagree.

[r] Lord's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, p. 303, & ſeqq. chap. 2, 3, 4, 5.

(I) By pagods, doubtleſs, uſes a term different from what our author means images; and is here uſed in the Shaſter.

Image-worſhip brought in.

had been communicated to him in viſion, as before mentioned; but as theſe were things not contained in Bramon's book, a great diſpute aroſe, whether they ſhould be received as canonical; however, upon Wiſe's ſwearing he had them from God, they were admitted as part of the ceremonial law.

World deſtroyed.

The ill examples of the parents ſowed the ſeeds of corruption and wickedneſs, which increaſed in their poſterity; ſo that at length the Deity growing angry, the heavens put on a face of darkneſs and terror, thunder and lightning flaſhed from the poles, while the ſeas, ſwelling in a frightful manner, ſent a flood upon the earth, which overwhelmed all the race of mankind; but although their bodies were deſtroyed, their ſouls were lodged in the boſom of the Almighty. And thus ended the firſt age of the world, named Kurlayn [z].

Second age.

Had things continued in this ruinous ſtate, the deſign of creation would have been fruſtrated. God therefore determined to renew the race of mankind, and begin the ſecond age with three perſons of greater perfection and excellence than the former. In order to this, deſcending from heaven upon a great mountain called Meropurbatî, he ſaid, "Riſe up Bremaw (K), the firſt of living creatures in the ſecond age:" hereupon the earth brought forth Bremaw, who immediately worſhipped his Maker. In like manner, by a ſecond and third command, Viſtney and Rudderi (L) were produced, who with no leſs reverence adored their Creator. The deſign of making theſe three perſons was, that they might act as deputies to God in the work which he was about to perform; to Bremaw, therefore, he aſſigned the office of making the creatures, to which purpoſe he endued him with the power of creation and production. To Viſtney he gave the charge of preſerving the creatures; for this end he conſtituted him lord of the ſun and moon, of the hills and vallies, of the weather and ſeaſons: he likewiſe made him the conferrer of riches, health, honour, and whatever conduced to the well-being of man and other animals. Laſtly, he veſted Rudderi with a commiſſion to deſtroy his creatures, be-

Three perſons created.

Their offices.

[z] Lord's Liſcovery of the Banian Religion, p. 309, & ſeqq, chap. 6.

(K) He is called by others Bramâ, Bramâh, and Brammâ.

(L) Viſtney is by others written Viſhnou, Wiſhnou, Wiſtnow, and the like. Rudderi is written Rudderen, Rutteri.

cauſe

cauſe he knew they would be wicked, and deſerve a puniſhment at his hands; for this purpoſe he appointed him lord of death and judgment, with all the train of common evils, ſuch as ſickneſs, famine, war, peſtilence, and whatever elſe might be deemed a puniſhment for ſin; the better to enable him to be the executioner of divine juſtice.

Time on earth.

To each of theſe three perſons was allotted a time for remaining on earth, conformable to the nature of his office. Becauſe the work of creation was finiſhed in the ſecond age, therefore Bremaw was to be taken up to heaven at the end of it; and as each of the following ages were peopled by ſome who were reſerved from deſtruction in the preceding ages, therefore Viſtney was kept on earth double the term of Bremaw, becauſe there was longer need of him in his preſerving quality. Laſtly, in regard the world was to end in a general deſtruction, therefore the continuance of Rudderi on earth was to be three times as long as their's.

Bremaw's labour.

Theſe three perſons being thus created with full powers, the next buſineſs for them was to put thoſe powers in execution. Hereupon Bremaw, conſulting with himſelf how to diſcharge his commiſſion in the beſt manner, was ſeized with ſuch extraordinary pain in all parts of his body, as foreboded ſome great alteration was to follow, as in effect there did; for he fell in labour, his belly ſwelling to ſuch a degree, that although he far exceeded the ſtature of common men, he felt grievous torture, till at length the burden forcing its way through both his ſides, there ſprung forth twins, male and female, at full growth.

Brings forth twins.

Theſe two having given worſhip to God the creator, and to Bremaw their producer, this latter named the man Manow, and the woman Seteroupa; after which they were ſent to a mountain called Mundurpurvûl, from thence to ſpread their generations towards the weſt, north, and ſouth. Being arrived at the place appointed, Seteroupa brought forth ſix children, three ſons, Priauretta, Outanapautha, and Sûmeraut; the three daughters were named Kamma, Sûnerettaw, and Sumbû. When theſe perſons grew in years they were diſperſed according to Bremaw's command: Priauretta and Kamma were ſent weſtward to the mountain Segund; Outanapautha and Sûnerettaw to the mountain Bipola in the north; Sûmeraut and Sumbû to the mountain Supars in the ſouth, who all increaſed (M) and multiplied.

The world re-peopled.

(M) Here brothers and ſiſters go together, which was not ſuffered in the firſt age, as a thing in itſelf evil.

Thus Bremaw made man and woman, and repleniſhed the earth with other living creatures, while Viſtney, on his part, provided every thing neceſſary both for the ſupport and preſervation of them; on the other ſide Rudderi diſperſed calamities, ſickneſs, death, and judgments, according as the ſons of men did by their wickedneſs draw down thoſe evils upon them [t].

New book of the law, called the Shaſter.

The Almighty knowing that there would be no good order where there was not the eſtabliſhment of his worſhip and fear, by proper laws, among this new race of mankind, therefore deſcending upon the mountain of Meropurbati, he called Bremaw to him, and telling him, out of a duſky cloud, which yet revealed ſome rays of his glory, that his reaſon for deſtroying the former inhabitants of the earth, was becauſe they did not obſerve the inſtructions ſet forth in the book delivered to Brammon, put another into the hand of Bremaw, commanding him to acquaint the diſperſed generations with the matters contained therein, which he accordingly performed.

This book, called by the Banîyans the Shâſter (N), conſiſted of three parts: the firſt contained their moral law, or precepts, with the explanation of each, and its application to the tribe or tribes which it concerned; the ſecond compriſed the ceremonial law, ſetting forth the rites which were to be obſerved in worſhip; the third tract divided mankind into tribes and claſſes, and preſcribed the rules which were to be obſerved by each. To ſpeak more particularly with reſpect to each of theſe tracts:

The moral law how diſtributed among the tribes.

The firſt tract, containing the moral law, conſiſteth chiefly of eight commandments. The firſt forbids the killing any living creature whatever, becauſe it has a ſoul as well as man.

The ſecond forbids beholding, giving ear to, or ſpeaking what is evil; alſo the drinking of wine, and eating of fleſh, with the touching of things defiled.

[t] Lord's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, p. 311. chap. 7.

(N) We are much at a loſs here. The chief book of the law among the Hindûs is the Vedam, or Wedam; of which the Shaſter, which ſignifies a *Syſtem*, is only the explanation or comment; but as our author, Lord, ſays this latter was delivered to Bremaw, and we are informed elſewhere that it is believed, as well as the other, to have come from God; therefore we muſt either ſuppoſe the Vedam was the book mentioned in the text, as delivered to Brammon, or elſe, that Lord has miſtaken the one for the other.

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The third commands the obſervation of times of devotion, with waſhing, worſhipping, and prayers to God.

The fourth forbids telling lies with deſign to defraud others in dealings, bargains, or contracts.

The fifth commands charity to the poor, in meat, drink, and money, according to his neceſſity, and the giver's ability.

The ſixth forbids oppreſſing, injuring, or doing violence to the poor, likewiſe to uſe one's power unjuſtly to ruin another.

The ſeventh concerns the celebration of certain feſtivals, without exceſs; alſo to ſet apart certain ſeaſons for faſting, and break off ſome hours of ſleep for watching, in order to be fitter for devotion.

The eighth forbids ſtealing any thing, how ſmall ſoever, of what is committed by another to one's truſt, in the way of his buſineſs or profeſſion; and commands being content with the hire which ſuch perſon gives him; becauſe no man has a right to what is the property of another.

In dividing theſe eight commandments among the four tribes, two are appropriated to each; the firſt and ſecond are aſſigned to the Brâmmans, who are the prieſts, as placing the ſtricteſt parts of religion in the preſervation of living creatures from deſtruction, and abſtinence from things forbidden. Theſe precepts are likewiſe enjoined the merchants, who, in their way of worſhip, nearly agree with the Brâmmans; however, the third and fourth, which enjoin devotion, and forbid fraud in dealing, are more particularly intended for Shudderi.

The fifth and ſixth commandments are aſcribed to Kutteri, that is, *to rulers and magiſtrates*; becauſe thoſe in power are moſt guilty of oppreſſion, as well as moſt able to relieve the neceſſities of the poor. Laſtly, the ſeventh and eighth are referred to Wîſe, as the handicraftſmen have need ſometimes of recreation, yet are apt to ſquander their earnings; as they work in other people's houſes, they are therefore reſtrained from theft.

Every tribe is obliged to obſerve all the commandments in general, but is more particularly exact in keeping thoſe which are appropriated to their own. And as there is great conformity between Brammon and Shudderi in their cuſtoms and religious worſhip, ſo is there a like between Kutteri and Wîſe[u].

[u] Lord's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, p. 312, & ſeq. chap. 8.

Ceremonial law. The ceremonial law, or injunctions compriſed in the ſecond tract delivered to Bremaw, relates to the following particulars.

Frequent waſhing. Firſt, They are obliged to frequent waſhings of their bodies in rivers, after this manner: on their entrance they beſmear themſelves with mud, as an emblem of man's filthineſs and corruption by nature; then walking farther in, and turning their faces towards the ſun, the Brammân utters this prayer: "Oh Lord, this man is foul and polluted as the mud of this river; but the water thereof can remove the defilement: do thou, in like ſort, cleanſe away his ſin." Then the party plungeth himſelf three times in the ſtream, whilſt the Brammân repeats the name of that (O) and other rivers, famous for ſuch ablutions. Being riſen up, he ſhakes in his hand ſome grains of rice; and having received abſolution of the prieſt for his paſt ſins, is diſmiſſed.

Anointing. Secondly, They uſe a kind of unction in the forehead, with red paint, and certain grains ſtuck in it, which betokens that God has marked them for his people. This is done to keep them in mind of their baptiſm; and as the ſign wears off, it is daily renewed by them, according to their waſhings; the action being accompanied with certain words, to put them in mind of being ſuch as become God's mark.

Grove worſhip. Thirdly, They are enjoined to tender certain offerings and prayers under green trees, which practice was introduced by Wiſe (or Weyz), to whom God appeared in a viſion under a tree, as before mentioned. The Brammâns therefore under ſuch green trees erect temples to pagods (P),

(O) "Wherein he waſheth, (ſaith Lord, called Tappee), with thoſe of Gonga (or Ganga), Nerboda, and the like." Theſe muſt be the words of Lord, and not thoſe of the Shaſter; which he has throughout his abſtract mixed with his own, in ſuch a manner that often they are not to be diſtinguiſhed one from the other. The Tappi, or Tapti, is the river of Surât, and the other two are in its neighbourhood, where the Baniyâns chiefly dwell.

(P) We obſerved before, that this word cannot be taken from the Shaſter; as a farther proof of which, our author confounds the temple with the image; for pagod is a corruption of *put-gheda*, a Perſian word, ſignifying *the houſe of idols*; and therefore uſed only by the Mohammedans; the name for a temple among the Hindûs being *Deura*, which we preſume ſignifies the ſame thing. See Ovington's Voy. to Surât, p. 195. and Bernier's Memoirs of the Great Mogol's Empire, tom. iii. p. 131, & paſſim.

where

where they attend to perform religious rites and ceremonies. [The tree appropriated to this kind of worſhip is called by ſome the Indian fig-tree (Q). From the branches ſtems ſhoot downwards, and taking root produce another tree, whoſe branches propagate in like manner; ſo that one tree ſpreads over a large ſpace of ground. This tree is ſuppoſed by the Hindûs to be ſo ſacred, that they believe ſome great miſchief will befal the perſon who hurts the leaſt bough of it. To this tree they bring offerings; under it they receive unctions, and ſprinklings of variouſly coloured powders. There they pay their adorations, which they number by the clapper of a little bell. There they pray for health, riches, a numerous iſſue, and the like. In ſhort, there they often celebrate their feſtivals with a great concourſe of people (R).]

Fourthly, They are commanded to ſay certain prayers in their temples (not unlike thoſe uſed among the Chriſtians.) This devotion conſiſts in the repetition of certain names of God, explained and deſcanted on. They likewiſe uſe proceſſions, with ſinging, and loud tinkling of bells, which chaunting is among their commandments (S), with offerings to images, and ſuch like ſervices (T). *Prayers to God.*

Fifthly, They are enjoined pilgrimages to remote rivers, as the Ganges, there to waſh their bodies, and pay their offerings: [ſo that the gold and jewels thrown into that famous river are of immenſe value.] The perſon likewiſe whoſe palate, when dying, is moiſtened with Ganges water, is accounted bleſſed, and purified from ſin. *Pilgrimages.*

A ſixth article of their worſhip is the invocation of ſaints, to whom they attribute the power of aſſiſting their votaries on many occaſions. They who would be happy in marriage pray to Hurmount; they who undertake works of architecture, to Gunnez; ſuch as want health, to Vagenaut; the ſoldier, going on to attack an enemy, cries Bimohem; the miſerable call upon Sïyer; and they who are in proſperity offer up their oriſons to Meykaſſer (U). *Invocation of ſaints.*

Seventhly,

(Q) By the Portugueſe, arbor de reys, by others the Banians tree, and the war-tree.

(R) We have put between hooks ſuch matters as ſeem to be additions of Mr. Lord, and not to be contained in the Shaſter.

(S) This is ſpoken as if the other rites were not: but where are theſe commandments referred to? for he has produced none in which chaunting is enjoined.

(T) Here is an omiſſion of certain rites.

(U) Did the Romiſh church take invocation of the dead from

Creature worſhip. Seventhly, They are commanded by their law to worſhip God, upon ſight of any of his creatures after ſunriſe; [particularly they pay their devotion to the ſun and moon, which they call the two eyes of the deity. Likewiſe to ſome beaſts, whom they hold more clean than others, their treatment is exceeding kind, ſuch as kine and buffalos: to theſe they aſcribe ſo much innocence and goodneſs, on account of the ſouls of men entering into them, as they believe, that they beſmear the floors of their houſes with the dung of thoſe cattle, and think the ground ſanctified by that means].

Other precepts. The eighth precept relates to baptizing, or naming their children; the ninth to marriages; and the tenth to burials, which have been already deſcribed among their civil cuſtoms [w].

Diviſion into tribes. The third tract of the book delivered to Bremaw treateth of the order and diſtinction proper to be obſerved among mankind: and becauſe nothing could be more commodious than to have, as in the firſt age, Brammâns, to inſtruct the people in matters of religion; Kuttereys, to ſway the ſceptre, and keep men in obedience; merchants, to follow traffick and commerce, like Shudderi; and mechanics, to ſupply mankind with neceſſaries of their manufacture, as did Wîſe; therefore they were by this tract divided into the ſame tribes or claſſes, and obliged to confine themſelves to their reſpective tribes, as well as the employments peculiar to each.

We have already given an account of the three laſt tribes; and, as we ſhall poſtpone that of the Brammâns till we come to ſpeak more particularly of the prieſts among the Hindûs, we paſs on to the other matters contained in the abſtract of the Shaſter [x].

The law promulged. The book above mentioned, comprifing the plan of religion and government which was to be eſtabliſhed in the new world, having been delivered to Bremaw, as before obſerved; it was by him communicated to the Brammâns of thoſe times, and by them publiſhed among the people, who readily conformed themſelves to the injunctions preſcribed in it. They divided themſelves into four tribes, and each tribe began to exerciſe the function appointed for them. The rulers kept the people in order; the

[w] Lord's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, ap. Church. Collect. p. 317, & ſeq. ch. 9. [x] Ibid. p. 320, ch. 10.

from the Indians, or fall into it as a natural conſequence of idolatry?

prieſts

prieſts or Brammâns counſelled them in matters of devotion; the merchants purſued traffick; and the handicraftſmen followed their ſeveral profeſſions.

Thus all things had a good beginning in this ſecond age: religion was cultivated; prayers were offered up to God, and the three perſons Bremaw, Viſtney, and Rudderi; the banks of the rivers were frequented, and daily waſhings were not neglected: but as mankind multiplied, they became worſe and worſe; the Brammâns grew full of hypocriſy and oſtentation; the Kuttereys, ſwelled with pride and ambition, ſought to enlarge their territories and power by unjuſt means; the merchants committed all ſorts of fraud in their dealing; and the mechanics grew idle, ſetting too great a price on their labour. The Lord, provoked with the iniquity of the world, deſcended on Mount Meropurbati, and acquainting Bremaw with what he had obſerved, this latter went down, and gave them notice of the impending judgment, which for a time wrought a reformation in their manners; but by degrees they returned to their old courſe of wickedneſs. Hereupon Bremaw interceded with God (X) for the human race; but the Almighty would not be pacified; on the contrary, the time of Bremaw's abode on earth being expired, the Lord took him up into his boſom, that he might not behold the evils of the time to come. *Men grow wicked.*

Then God made known his purpoſe of deſtroying mankind to Viſtney, who, in virtue of his office, as preſerver of the world, interceded likewiſe for them; but the Lord, reſolving not to with-hold his wrath, commanded Rudderi, whoſe office it was to bring judgments and deſtruction on ſinners, to cauſe a wind to riſe out of the bowels of the earth, and ſweep the nations as duſt from off the face of it. Rudderi, in obedience to the Almighty's order, put the winds in a violent motion, which burſting from their ſubterraneous priſons, ſet the great body of the world a trembling. The day ſeemed to change colour with the night, the mountains and hills were torn from their foundations, and, as ſome report, the river Ganges was forced out of her wonted channel to take another courſe. In a word, this furious tempeſt deſtroyed the whole race of mortals, excepting a few, whom the Lord permitted Viſtney to cover with the ſkirts of his preſervation; as a reſerve for the propagation of mankind in *The world deſtroyed.*

(X) This is like Abraham's interceſſion for Sodom.

the

the third age. And thus concluded the second age, called Duaper [y].

The third age.

Rudderi having at length restrained the stormy winds, all became calm again; but it was lamentable to behold the universal desolation which overspread the earth, especially the dead carcases of men and animals, which covered its surface; some blown from the tops of mountains, others bruised to death, all drowned and destroyed: insomuch that the Almighty repented him of what he had done, and Rudderi was sorry to have been the instrument of such great fury and havock. But because the ill goverment of the kings and rulers was the source of all the disorders in the second age (as they had been in the first), therefore the Lord utterly rooted out the tribe of the Kutte-reys; those who were preserved being only some few of the other three tribes. However, as that tribe or order of men was so necessary in the world that it could not subsist without them, therefore, that it might be renewed from a more holy stock, the Lord appointed that the line of the râjahs should be restored from that of the Brammans (Y). This was performed in the person of Ram, youngest son of Duserat, chief of the Brammans (Z), who were preserved by Vistney.

The Kutte-reys extir-pated.

Brâmmans made kings.

It was presumed that this person, being religiously educated, would favour piety as well as policy; and, with holiness joined to prudence, govern men in their several tribes. Accordingly Ram was a patron of the Brammans, and exceedingly promoted religion. [This prince became so memorable for his worthy actions, that to this day his name is honoured among the Hindûs; who, when they meet, salute one another, saying, Ram!

[y] Lord's Discovery of the Banian Religion, ap. Church. Collect. p. 325, ch. 13.

(Y) Yet it does not appear that all the râjahs are Brammans; for all those of Hindûstân, as well as many of those in the peninsula of India, seem to be of the Kutteri race.

(Z) According to the vulgar tradition, Dusserat, or Dasserat, was one of the râjahs who, with his wife, had been destroyed; but both were re-animated it seems by the souls of two departed Brammans; and thus produced the race of Bram-Kutteri. So that Mr. Lord must have committed a mistake here, or the Brammans must have altered the tradition, in order to make the fact more agreeable to the present state of things.

Ram!

Ram! as a word importing the wiſhes of every thing that is good.]

It is likely that many worthy kings ſucceeded him; but the world degenerating in length of time, the ſame wicked practices which had infected the four tribes in the two former ages, began to infect them again, till at length the Almighty, being incenſed that mankind ſhould not be warned by ſo many judgments, ſpoke to Rudderi; who, by his order, cauſed the earth to open and ſwallow them up alive; reſerving only ſome few of each tribe, as a laſt trial, for peopling the world. Thus ended the third age, named Tetrajû. *A third deſtruction.*

Among thoſe who were preſerved was Kiſtney (A), a famous ruler and pious king, the moſt renowned in the beginning of this fourth and laſt age. As he was exceeding zealous to propagate religion, virtue flouriſhed in his reign[z]. *The preſent age.*

At this period, Viſtney's time of reſiding on earth being expired, the Lord took him up alſo into heaven, as there was no farther need of his preſerving care: for, when the preſent age is brought to a concluſion, there will be a final end of all things. [However, the Brammans ſay, that this age, named Koli, will be longer than any of the former; and that at the end thereof, Rudderi ſhall be taken up into heaven, as Bremaw and Viſtney have been already.] *Laſt day.*

As to the manner of this final judgment, they hold that it will be more dreadful than any of the former, and it ſhall be by fire; that Rudderi ſhall then ſummon up all the powers of deſtruction; that the moon ſhall look red, and the ſun ſhed his light like flaming brimſtone; that the lightning ſhall flaſh with unuſual terrors, and the ſkies change into all ſorts of colours, but that fiery redneſs eſpecially ſhall overſpread the face of heaven; that the four elements, of which the world at firſt was conſtituted, ſhall be at variance, till by this laſt agony, ſhe is turned into her firſt confuſion.

That the final deſtruction of the world ſhall be by fire they infer from a ſuppoſition, that it ſhould be brought to its diſſolution by the ſame principles which gave it a being; and that as it hath already been deſtroyed by three *Final deſtruction.*

[z] Lord's Deſcription of the Banian Religion, ap. Church. Collect. p. 326. chap. 14.

(A) By others, Kiſna, Kiſhna, Kriſna, and Kriſtna.

of

No resurrection.

of the elements, it shall be ultimately destroyed by the fourth. Then, say they, shall Rudderi carry up with him to heaven the souls of all mankind, there to rest in the bosom of God; but their bodies shall all perish, being of substances too gross to enter into so pure a mansion [a].

Primitive Hindû religion.

This is the entire substance of Mr. Lord's abstract of the Shaster, which teaches the belief and worship of one only God, called the almighty and supreme Being, not of many: that Bremaw, Vistney, and Rudderi, named also Eswara, or Ithura, and Chivens, who are now worshipped as so many Gods, were no more than three persons, or beings, created by the Deity as his deputies or workmen, to make the visible world, and under him govern the affairs thereof for a limited time, pursuant to certain powers delegated to them: likewise that Ram, and Kistney, or Kristna, who are at present adored in their pagods with so much devotion, were no other than two men, famous for their good actions in the ages wherein they lived. In short, in Lord's abstract we find nothing of those wild genealogies, and romantic adventures, told by travellers, of the Hindû gods; nor even so much as the famous transformations of Vishnû, or Wishnû, which fill their Pûrân with fables and their temples with statues.

Free from idolatry.

Thus the primitive religion of the Hindûs seems to have been entirely free from idolatry: for although in the Shaster we find the worship of images introduced, yet it is evident, from the place itself, that it was not originally a part of the Indian religion, since it is expresly said there was no mention of those things in the books delivered to Brammon, which was the first Hindû bible, or revealed book of the law; nor is image worship taught in the eight commandments inserted in the said book delivered to Bremaw, which is the second revealed book of the law. It may be farther observed, that images were to be worshipped under green trees, as not worthy of being placed in temples, where we find them at present: the pagods seeming at first to have been dedicated solely to the worship of the one God; and in the Shaster itself this image-worship is not established as a point of doctrine, but only brought in, as it were by-the-bye, among the ceremonies of the Indian religion.

[a] Lord's Description of the Banian Religion, ap. Church. Collect, p. 326, chap. 15.

Besides

Beſides this ſilence of the Shaſter with reſpect to the preſent idolatry, we meet with nothing in it which in any degree tends to authorize the extravagant notions which obtain, concerning the number of different worlds and heavens, the long duration of this world, the creation of man, and a future ſtate; with many other abſurd opinions. Nay, we do not ſo much as find any mention of the favourite doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, though as old at leaſt as the time of Pythagoras: which ſhews, that this, as well as all the reſt, were invented by the Brammans; ſince the Shaſter was written, and impoſed on the people by means of their Pourân, which are properly the legends and traditions of the Hindû church (B). *and other modern extravagances.*

SECT. III.

Their Pagods, or Temples, and Way of Worſhip.

THERE are in every town of Karnâta at leaſt two pagods (C), one in honour of Wiſtnum, the other of Iſhuren. Theſe are well built, and higher than thoſe appropriated to the leſſer gods; but not ſo large as Chriſtian churches. They are low and flat, but without windows, or any light, excepting what comes in by the doors. The pagod is divided into three parts; the firſt conſiſts of an arched aiſle, ſupported by pillars, beſet with ſtatues of animals, and open for all comers; the ſecond part is ſhut with a ſtrong gate, which is open by day, but guarded by Brammâns, who ſuffered none to enter. In this diviſion are ſeen frightful images, with many heads and hands; the third part is ſecured alſo with a ſtrong door; and there the ſtatue of the god is kept to whom the temple is dedicated. Round theſe temples is a large ſpace of ground or court, incloſed with walls; on which are built ſeveral *Pagods, their ſtructure.*

(B) It will not be expected that we ſhould enter into a detail of the preſent idolatry practiſed among the Hindûs, which would take up much more ſpace than the nature of our work will allow. Thoſe who are curious to know particulars, may have recourſe to the following books: Phillips's Account of Malabâr. Dan. Confer. Dan. Lett. Bernier, Mem. Mogul Empire. Roger Mœurs des Bramins. Baldæus apud Churchill Col. Travel. vol. iii. Lord's Religion of the Banians. De Faria, Port. Aſia, vol. ii.

(C) From *pout-gheda*, a Perſian word; *pout* ſignifying an *idol*, and *gheda*, *a temple*. Ov. Voy. to Surat, p. 159.

little

little pagods; thoſe of Wiſtnum contain the temples of his wife Latſæmi, Garrouda, and Annemonta. The image of Garrouda is in the form of a man, with wings on each ſide; but Annemonta has the face of an ape. In the plain, or court, belonging to the pagod of Eſwara, or Iſhuren, you meet with the leſſer temples or chapels of Parvati, his wife, and his ſons Vikneſwara, named alſo Pullari and Winnaika, Komaraſwara, and Virrepadra; alſo that of Nandi, or Baſwa, the Ox, who is the Wahannam of Iſhuren; and of Suria, the Sun. As for Shendra, or the Moon, ſhe has no chapel; but yet ſhe does not loſe her veneration, being always placed on the head of Iſhuren [b].

Pagod worſhip; how performed.

It does not appear that the Brâmmans aſſemble the people to the pagods, or that there are any days ſet apart for divine ſervice; only on certain nights, once or twice a month, the images of Wiſtnum and Iſhuren are carried about in proceſſion through the ſtreets. The ſtatue is ſet on a wooden horſe, with his fore-feet raiſed in the air, the other two fixed to a ſquare floor of planks, which is carried on the ſhoulders of four Mukwâs, or fiſhermen. The rider is covered with an umbrella, and has a man with a fan to drive away the flies, while a great many people with lights march before. On its return to the pagod, the dancers (D), who belong to the ſame, begin their ceremony; and all the while theſe girls perform their duty, ſongs are ſung, and muſic played, in honour of the god.

Every one is ſtudious to render honour to, and adorn the image, according to his ſect; and becauſe Wiſtnum would have his ſtatue ſtrewed with flowers, and clothed with fine garments, richly adorned with precious ſtones, therefore his devotees ſpare no coſt to pleaſe him; on the other hand, Eſwara, or Iſhuren, likes that his image ſhould be frequently waſhed with water, or ſome perfumed liquor; and therefore his worſhippers do not fail to oblige him. As a mark of reſpect alſo, they light lamps, and lay victuals before their images twice a day, uſhered in with the the ſound of flutes and drums. This is done, in order to ſanctify them for the Brâmmans, who eat no victuals but what have been thus offered to, or placed before, the image of their favourite god. On certain feaſt-days

[b] Roger, ubi ſupra, p. 204—208.

(D) Theſe dancers are all proſtitutes, though dedicated to the ſervice of the temples. See alſo Phillips's Account of Malabâr, p. 100, 102.

the

the images both of the gods and goddeſſes are carried about on triumphal chariots, drawn by a great number of men. The people reverence them, by raiſing their hands on high, joined cloſe together; but none of the lower claſſes dare ſo much as touch them. Many are ſo infatuated, as to lie on the way, or throw themſelves under the wheels of the chariot, there to ſacrifice themſelves, by being cruſhed to death [c].

The Brâmmans, when they enter the temples, leave their ſlippers without the door, and advance with much devotion. The people likewiſe ſhew their great eſteem for the pagods, by liberally contributing towards maintaining them, and thoſe who belong to them; beſides, part of the duties paid for all commodities, both foreign and domeſtic, are appropriated to the ſame uſes.

Divine ſervice.

Divine ſervice is performed chiefly by Brâmmans, Pantaren, and Antigol, three ſorts of eccleſiaſtics. Theſe, getting up early, bathe themſelves, and then prepare their drink-offering made of honey, ſugar, and juice of cocoa-nut; at the ſame time they preſent flowers, and beſprinkle all their offerings and images with the powder of ſandal-wood. Next they proceed to incenſing, called tubum, and tubaradiney, with ſandal and aghil, another odoriferous wood. After this ceremony they perform their meat offering, conſiſting of rice, peas, beans, butter, and cocoa-nuts; then they ſet it before the images, and ſome time after eat it among themſelves; repeating, at the ſame time, ſeveral formularies of prayers; and read the praiſes of the god to whom the ſacrifice is made; which ſort of worſhip is performed daily [d].

Females devotion.

The women are great devotees here, as well as in Europe. When a girl is ſeven or eight years of age, ſhe gives herſelf a diſciple to the prieſt; and when ſhe is married, liſts herſelf in the catalogue of ſuch prieſt's diſciples; from thenceforth ſhe hears their diſcourſes and documents going into the pagods; and makes her ſhalams, or ſalutations to the images, and to the Brâmmans. If ſhe be very young ſhe goes alone; but if marriageable, is always accompanied with two or three other women, who every now and then beſtrew themſelves with conſecrated aſhes, and preſent their offerings; in the mean time repeating the form of prayers, which they had learned of their prieſts. What they offer in their houſes to Pulleyar they give to the

[c] Roger, ubi ſupra, p. 217—225.

[d] Phillips's Account of Malabâr, 43.

poor;

poor; they likewiſe obſerve faſtings, vows, and the ceremonial purifications. Some frequent the pagods; others pay their devotions to the images in the ſtreets, when carried about on feſtivals; when every one at his door makes a profound ſhalam. The women carry their cenſer with them, to make their offering, and are very charitable. When the prieſt comes to their houſes, they firſt hear his inſtructions, and then ſet before him victuals, and all ſorts of fruit [e].

Prieſts of the populace.

As the Brâmmans have no communication with the claſs of common people, conſiſting of huſbandmen, mechanics, and the lower populace, theſe Hîndûs chooſe a prieſt from among themſelves, and likewiſe a god, commonly of the two lower claſſes; whoſe image they ſet up in their houſes. The whole proceſs of their worſhip conſiſts in the following particulars: on Friday they boil rice with milk; kill he-goats, ſwine, hens, and peacocks; then taking ſuri for drink, and ſome new linen, never before uſed, preſent them all to their image; at the ſame time deſiring that they may be kindly accepted at his hand; and that whatever they pray for may be granted them. When they have performed all their uſual ceremonies, they take away the diſhes of meat-offerings, and feed on them; diſtributing part of it among their friends and acquaintance, who are of the ſame ſect. If any one of them falls ſick, they pray the image for his health, in theſe words: "O god, reſtore health, and I vow to give thee ten gilders, which ſhall be ſpent in meat-offering; or I will kill a he-goat, or boil rice, for thy uſe; or elſe I will make thee an image, &c." Beſides this, the populace have no other religion but their belly.

Images for the vulgar only.

After all, the Malabârians pretend, that wiſe and underſtanding men among them perform their worſhip without images; theſe being deſigned for children only, and the duller ſort of people, who know not what ideas to form of the celeſtial beings [f]. And, in reality, we ſhall find that ſome even of the Brâmmans themſelves renounce the uſe of images; and for that reaſon do not even frequent the pagods. Many confeſs the impotency of their images, and acknowlege that the whole ſyſtem of their divinity is nothing but a perplexed jargon of incomprehenſible notions, inconſiſtent with, and deſtructive one of another.

[e] Phillips's Account of Malabâr, p. 236, & ſeqq. [f] Daniſh Letters, p. 20.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Religious Ceremonies.

THE religious worſhip of the Hindûs is attended with a great number of ceremonies; ſuch as obſerving feſtivals and faſts, of which they have ſeveral in the courſe of the year. Their waſhings and purifications, in which ſprinkling with holy water and holy aſhes, compoſed of cow-dung, are reckoned of no ſmall efficacy. Theſe aſhes are made and conſecrated by the prieſts of different ſects, and are ſtrewed upon the images of their gods, as well as the bodies of the people, particularly on their foreheads, as a preſervative againſt misfortunes, and a charm againſt evil ſpirits, in which laſt capacity beads are alſo uſed. Pilgrimages likewiſe are no leſs frequent in the Indies than in Europe; and, beſides particular ſhrines, ſeveral of which are to be found in every country of the Hindûs, there are alſo places of general reſort; ſuch as, Kâſi or Banârres, on the Ganges; Matura, near Agra; Kanjevoram, in Karnâta; and Devaraka, or Dawarka, near Surât; to which they flock from all parts of Hindûſtân [g]. *Holy aſhes.* *Pilgrimages.*

They have alſo penances of ſeveral kinds; the moſt eaſy of which ſeem to ſurpaſs the moſt rigid practiſed by the clergy and laity of the church of Rome. Some will ſit, others ſtand, in the ſame poſture for years together, ſome carry vaſt loads, others drag weighty chains. Some expoſe themſelves to the ſcorching ſun; others are ſeen hanging before a fire with their heads downwards. In ſhort, the acts of this nature which they perform, are aſtoniſhing, and almoſt incredible, were they not ſo unanimouſly atteſted by travellers. By ſuch ſeverities inflicted on the body, by good works, and a hearty repentance, the Hindûs hope to obtain forgiveneſs of their ſins, and work out their ſalvation. They have no notion of a remiſſion through God's free grace, nor of any redeemer but God alone. The Brâmmans pretend to transfer the ſins of the people upon cows; but this tranſlation is attended with great expence; for, on that occaſion, they are obliged to provide no fewer than two hundred cows, which the Brâmmans take for their trouble [h]. *Penances for ſins.*

[g] Roger, p. 263, & ſeq. Bald. p. 815, & ſeq. Phillips, p. 6. 63. 105. [h] Phillips, ibid. p. 180. Bald. p. 817.

Purgatory. The Hindûs believe a future ſtate, with rewards and puniſhments. They hold alſo a purgatory: they entertain the ſame notions of the devil, witches, and apparitions, as prevail in Europe. They ſay, that evil ſpirits do much miſchief in this world; that they kill ſome men and women, and poſſeſs others. The poſſeſſed are carried to the pagods, where meat-offerings are made to the god intreated to deliver the demoniac. Then they ſtrike the perſon with a cudgel, to frighten the devil; who not liking ſuch treatment changes his quarters.

Exorciſms.

Several opinions concerning the ſoul. They entertain many different opinions concerning the human ſoul. Some hold God to be the ſoul, others hold it to be a part of God. A third ſort will have it, that, at the creation, God created all thoſe ſouls at once, which were deſigned for the race of mankind. Others ſay, that the ſoul is begotten by the parents; and a fifth ſort believe it to be the product of the five elements (E). The greater number believe all ſouls to be eternal as well as immortal. Of theſe ſome affirm them to be contained in the eſſence of God; others ſay they exiſted out of God, and ſlept before the world was created. Thoſe who hold they were not from eternity, ſay they were created before the world, and lodged in the eſſence of the Deity. Moſt Indians believe that every perſon has two ſouls [i], thus diſtinguiſhed; one is called the ſupreme ſoul, which is no other than God himſelf; the ſecond is the animal ſoul, which is in man the ſenſitive principle of pleaſure and pain, love, hatred, and other affections. Some will have it to be ſpiritual, others material [k]. Laſtly, the Hindûs hold the ſoul both of men and other animals to be the ſame. As to the difference which appears to be between them, they ſay it is not in the ſoul itſelf, but is owing to the different ſtructure and organization of the ſeveral bodies, which give greater advantages to creatures of different ſpecies, as well as of the ſame ſpecies [l].

Tranſmigration. The doctrine of tranſmigration is generally held by all the Hindû nations, and indeed has ſpread itſelf over the greater part of Aſia. It is hard to ſay when it firſt ap-

[i] Daniſh Lett. part ii. p. 23. Roger, p. 192, & ſeq. [k] P. Pons, ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 244, & ſeq. [l] Roger, p. 190, & ſeq.

(E) To earth, water, fire, and air, they add the wind, according to Roger, and the heavens, according to Baldæus. Perhaps, inſtead of the heaven, we may place the ether, or etherial matter.

peared

peared in the world, or to what cauſe it owes its origin. Some ſuppoſe it took its riſe from Wiſtnum's ten-fold incarnation; others think the prohibition to eat animal food is derived from thence; but as there is no expreſs command for the belief of the tranſmigration, nor even mention of it in the Shaſter, at leaſt in Lord's abſtract of it, it ſeems rather to owe its riſe to that prohibition, by way of accounting for it; as the alternate deſtruction and renovation of things ſeems to have ſprung from the tranſmigration, in conjunction with the notion of the world's being eternal. This ſtate of the ſoul is a kind of purgatory, and deſigned as a puniſhment, not a felicity; for thoſe ſouls only which are pure go immediately into heaven; the impure tranſmigrate or paſs into ſeveral bodies ſucceſſively, in order to obtain a perfect purification, which requires many regenerations. Sometimes this paſſage is from a better body or ſtate to a worſe; ſometimes from a worſe to a better; but the ſouls of very impure perſons migrate into venomous or ſervile beaſts, as poſt-horſes, or are born in a very abject condition [m].

Kind of purgatory.

SECT. V.

Of the Hindû Prieſts, and their ſeveral Sects.

THERE are among the Hindûs three ſorts of clergy; the firſt by birth, who are the Brâmmans; the ſecond by adoption, who are of the tribe of Shudderis, or the merchants, admitted by the Brâmmans; and the third by nomination or election, being thoſe choſen by the other tribes to perform the office of prieſts among them.

Hindû clergy.

We have already given an account of the Brâmmans, as one of the four tribes into which the Hindûs are divided: we ſhall now conſider them in reſpect of their office; on which occaſion it muſt be obſerved that they are a ſacerdotal tribe, like that of Levi among the Jews; like them alſo, they have been at certain times, and are ſtill in ſome places, both chiefs and prieſts. They came originally from the country between the river Jemni and the mountain Hima or Imaus, to the north of Patna [n]. They pretend to be deſcended from the god Brâmma, or Brûmma; and, in virtue of this original, to be perfectly pure and free from ſin [o]. Hence alſo they are eſteemed the

Brâmmans divine origin.

[m] Daniſh Lett. p. 22, & ſeq. [n] P. Pons ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. vi. p. 220. [o] Daniſh Lett. part i. p. 20. 22

prime nobility, and enjoy many privileges; and, among the reſt, do not proſtrate themſelves before kings, as other ſubjects do, but ſit in their preſence [p]. The belief of their divine original makes them exceſſively proud, and look upon the other tribes with contempt; nor will they touch, converſe with, or even adminiſter the prieſtly offices to the claſs of the people whom they hold unclean, and yet will receive their alms in money when purified by water.

Their privileges. It is certain that the Brâmmans are by the other tribes treated with profound reſpect, on account of their pretended deſcent, and the privileges granted to them by the Vedam, or their ſacred books. Theſe are firſt to celebrate the feaſt called Jagam; at which they take away the life of animals, and eat fleſh; for at this feaſt they ſacrifice a beaſt; but to avoid ſhedding its blood, they ſtrangle or ſtifle it; then cutting it to pieces, they eat part of the heart, with other Brâmmans preſent, and burn the reſt. Their ſecond privilege is to teach the Settreas, or Kutteris, the manner of celebrating the Jagam. The third is to read the Vedam, and the fourth privilege is to teach it to their own tribe and that of the Settreas, to which they are confined. Laſtly, they are allowed the privilege to demand but not to give alms; while the other tribes may give but not demand them [q]. Thus they have the impious policy to free themſelves from the obligation of charity by a divine commiſſion.

Never put to death. We muſt not omit another great privilege which belongs to the Brâmmans, and that is, never to be puniſhed with death. A Brâmman convicted of the moſt enormous crime is only deprived of his eye-ſight; it being reckoned one of the five mortal ſins to kill a Brâmman. In this caſe the Vedam has ordained, that the offender ſhall perform a twelve years pilgrimage, begging alms, with the Brâmman's ſkull in his hand, and that he ſhall eat and drink out of it whatever is given to him. At the expiration of the twelve years he is to beſtow a great deal of alms himſelf, and build a pagod in honour of Eſwara, or Iſhuren; but in caſe a Brâmman goes to the war with an intention to kill others, the crime of killing him is not ſo great, and may be expiated by building a temple only [r].

Their office and maintenance. The office of the Brâmmans is purely to teach others, not only to write, read, and caſt accounts, but alſo to in-

[p] Bald. ap Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 812. [q] Roger Mœurs des Bram. p. 32. [r] Ibid. p. 3, & ſeq.

ſtruct

ſtruct them thoroughly in the principles of their religion, and this is their principal buſineſs, which they are obliged to diſcharge without any reward for their trouble; but in caſe they are poor, they may then receive gratuities from their diſciples, not to enrich themſelves, but barely to maintain them decently. Indeed the kings, or râjahs, are under an obligation to prevent their being beholden for a maintenance to thoſe they teach, by providing for them, and aſſigning the revenues of certain villages for the ſupport of them and their families; but as their number is ſo great that the kings cannot provide for them all, therefore the inhabitants of the reſpective countries are obliged to contribute to their ſubſiſtence, and the people ſay, that although the Brâmmans receive more than one third part of the revenue of the land, yet there are ſtill a great number of them ſo poor that they are forced to beg. Neceſſity likewiſe obliges them often to make uſe of other means beſides teaching to get a livelihood, as following merchandize and practiſing phyſic. However, they muſt not put their hands to tillage, painting, or any handicraft trade; neither muſt they perform any ſervile office for any perſon, even the king; for ſuch an offence he would be degraded, and expelled his tribe; but they may officiate as ſecretaries, ambaſſadors, or counſellors, and indeed few beſides them obtain theſe employments. However, they often take up with thoſe of a meaner kind, and even ſerve as guides to conduct travellers.

How brought up.

The Brâmmans hold their children and their houſes to be unclean for the firſt ten days after their birth, when great ceremony is uſed to purify both. On the twelfth they make a fire, called homam, into which they throw incenſe, and other things, accounting it holy, and when it is conſumed give the infant its name. After this they bore their ears, not to hang jewels in, but to ſignify their being devoted to Wiſtnum, or Iſhuren; on which occaſion they wiſh the child much holineſs. The next thing they do is to inveſt them with the little cord called dſandhem, which is hung on the left ſhoulder, and deſcends low on the the right ſide. This is done when the child is five years old; but as it is attended with ſome little expence, therefore, if the parents be poor, it is deferred till the tenth year. When this cord is put on they are called Brâmma Sarîs, or *the Children of Brâmmans*; nor are they till then conſidered as ſuch. They bear this name as long as they remain unmarried; nor can they, during that time, either lie with a woman, or chew betel, which

they say excites venery; they likewise are to eat but once a day, and to beg for the victuals they eat. These rules are enjoined by the Vedam, but not exactly observed[s].

The cord. The little cord above mentioned is of fine thread, and consists of three small strings. The Brâmman never puts this cord off, rising up or lying down; and if it breaks, he cannot eat till he gets another; nor is he reckoned of the tribe so long as he is without it; for this reason they renew this cord every August, at which time they give it to children. As this cord is not a badge, as some imagine, by which the Brâmmans are distinguished, those of the other tribes may wear it in imitation of their ancestors, and to shew their zeal.

Their marriage. In marrying their sons the Brâmmans take care to chuse a maiden of their own tribe, who has not had her monthly visitations. They are no less careful to provide husbands for their daughters before that time, otherwise no person can marry them; but ways are found to get over this difficulty by concealing their age. In visiting the family where they propose to chuse a wife for their son, they are careful to observe every frivolous circumstance, and if they meet with what they deem an ill omen three times successively, they drop the pursuit. When they break the affair to the girl's father, he usually asks to see the young man; and in case he likes him, as well as the portion which he is to receive, the youth has then liberty to visit the family and see his mistress. The ceremonies observed at the marriages of Brâmmans are much the same with those used by the laity of other tribes. When the match is concluded on, and the father has given his daughter's hand to her intended spouse, the latter takes the tali, which is a little girdle, with a golden head of some god fastened to it, and ties it about the neck of his bride, which makes the marriage sure: but it sometimes happens, that when the bridegroom is going to perform that ceremony, and does not give the dowry which the bride's father expects, one of those present steps in, and offering to give what is demanded, carries off the lady with her father's consent.

Odd custom. When the husband dies, the tali is buried with him; except the widow burns herself, and then it is burned along with her. The marriage is concluded by erecting a pandal, and making a procession through the city, in the same manner as is done by those of other tribes. When the children of Brâmmans are married, they are no

[s] Roger Mœurs des Bram. p. 39, & seq.

longer

longer called Brâmma Saris, but Grahaſtas, and then receive the ſecond little cord, which is like the firſt; and uſually they add a third cord, which ſerves for an upper garment; for as the Brâmmans are forbidden to go with their breaſt bare, yet commonly do, if they have their third cord on, they think their breaſt is covered. Every ten years they are obliged by their Vedam to add another ſtring to the former; but they do not all follow its injunctions [t].

Polygamy allowed them.

When the young Brâmmans are grown more in years, they often take wives out of the other tribes, and even that of Soudra, or Weyz, which is the loweſt, and held in contempt by the upper claſſes; but the Brâmmans themſelves cenſure this practice, thinking it a great ſin to leave children by ſuch a woman; and believe that the father of them will be excluded heaven ſo long as they, or any of their deſcendants, remain on earth. However, the Brâmmans are careful not to marry their children to thoſe who are near of kin to them; for they have an abhorrence to inceſt, which is one of the five mortal ſins, ſcarce ever to be pardoned. In this caſe the Vedam ordains, that the offender ſhall be caſtrated, and left to die with his genitals in his hand. Our author was told of a Brâmman, then living, who having by miſtake lain with his mother, whom he found in his bed, inſtead of his wife, inflicted that puniſhment on himſelf, and would have drowned himſelf had he not been hindered. Polygamy is carried to great exceſs often by the Brâmmans, as well as the other tribes. Barthrouherri, renowned for his proverbs, and other works, had no fewer than three hundred, though his father had only four. The graver ſort condemn this cuſtom; but ſay it is not ſinful, becauſe the Vedam has not forbidden it. However, they look on it to be a very bad action for one of their tribe, who has many wives, to keep a concubine. There is no puniſhment indeed either for this vice or for adultery; yet when a Brâmman's wife is inconſtant, he ſometimes locks her up in a cloſe place, and gives her victuals while ſhe lives; but in caſe he loves her much, and finds the other Brâmmans avoid going to his houſe as before, he makes a feaſt, and inviting ſeveral of his tribe to it, his wife ſerves at table; and as the gueſts receive the victuals from her hand, ſhe is thenceforth looked upon as an honeſt woman [u].

Practiſed to exceſs.

[t] Roger, p. 56—62 [u] Ibid. p. 64—67.

Their diet temperate.

The diet of the Brâmmans is exceedingly temperate; their victuals consist solely of rice, fruits, roots, and herbs. Nor is their drink less simple, being nothing but water, except at meals they sometimes take a draught of milk, for which purpose they usually keep a cow. They never make use of any liquor which either hath an agreeable taste (F), or is apt to intoxicate; for they abhor drunkenness, which is one of their mortal sins. This tribe, through pride, will never go to the house of those of other tribes to eat or drink, excepting tayer, or cream, which they believe to be of the same nature with the amortam, or nectar, of the gods, but nothing will prevail with one of them to eat in such a person's house, or in the house of a Brâmman of a different sect. Nay, if his wife is of another tribe, she must not eat with her husband; and as none are permitted, not even the king, to see a Brâmman eat, the wife is also subject to the same law; so that should the husband, through fondness, permit her that liberty, the other Brâmmans would neither eat with him nor in his house.

Dispute about dislodging souls.

As two of the four tribes, namely, the Brâmmans and Banîyans eat nothing but vegetables, and the other two, which are the Settreas, or Kutteris, and the Soudras, or Wîse, feed upon fish and flesh, there is no small dispute among them on this account. The Brâmmans allege, that those two tribes commit a great sin in killing animals; on the other hand, the Kutteri or Râjah tribe maintain, that in so doing they act better than the Brâmmans; because, say they, to support a great many people, there is no need to kill more than one beast, and in so doing no more than one soul is dislodged from its body; whereas the Brâmmans, to nourish themselves, are obliged to dislodge many souls from their bodies, by plucking up roots and plants; for they believe that all vegetables have souls, as well as beasts, and that the souls of men pass into them equally alike.

To this reproach the Brâmmans are only able to make the following lame reply, that they do not commit so great a sin as the Kutteri in killing a buck; since the souls which are in roots and herbs are in the most abject of all

(F) That is for their own private drinking, and in Karnâta; but in East Malabâr they make their drink-offering of honey, sugar, and the juice of cocoa nut; which offering, doubtless, they afterwards drink themselves.

bodies;

bodies; and that in being diſlodged they change their ſtate for the better, as they paſs into the bodies of men or beaſts. However, they are ſo perplexed on this chapter, that they acknowlege they would refrain from eating vegetables, could they ſubſiſt without it; and ſome are ſo troubled in mind on this occaſion, that they content themſelves with plucking leaves and fruits, without pulling up any thing by the roots, in order to avoid diſlodging ſouls[w].

Eccleſiaſtical hierarchy.

The Brâmmans are as prieſts both ſecular and regular; they have likewiſe a hierarchy among them; but their ſeveral orders are not well, if at all, diſtinguiſhed by authors. We have already ſeen the form of their eccleſiaſtical degrees, though confuſedly and imperfectly, among the Weſt Malabârs. In the country between that and Surât we are told they are diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, Buts and Sinais; from which two roots ſpring the other branches. The difference was occaſioned by a famine in the low lands, where the Sinais reſided, which obliged them to eat fiſh to prevent periſhing; for this reaſon they are greatly deſpiſed by the purer Buts, who did not violate their law under ſuch preſſing circumſtances. Theſe latter apply themſelves wholly to ſtudy, and teach the myſteries of their religion; they alſo lead an exact regular life, abſtracted from all worldly employments, excepting ſuch as contribute to preſerve life; the chief and moſt ſkilful phyſicians being of this claſs of Brâmmans. Theſe are maſters of all their ceremonies, or doctors of their canon law, and inſtruct the other tribes.

Buts and Sinais.

The Sinais are more biaſſed to ſecular offices, and out of them are made their fighting biſhops (G); deſis, or farmers of the king's revenues; pundits, who are governors of towns and provinces; phyſicians, accountants, ſcrivans or ſecretaries, and interpreters[x].

Kûrû or prieſts.

The learned part of the Brâmmans are of two kinds. The firſt called kûrû, who are of the prieſthood; and the ſecond termed ſaſtiriar, or ſhaſtiriar, who are profeſſors of the different ſyſtems in divinity. Of the firſt kind there are in Eaſtern Malabâr, three diſtinct orders, the wayravenada kûrû, the pancharſha kûrû, and mabulley kûrû. Their office is to prepare the offerings for

[w] Roger, ibid. p. 110. 114.

[x] Fryer's Trav. p. 190.

(G) Some go to the wars, and take the command of armies, as Romiſh biſhops have often done in Europe.

religious

religious worſhip. Of the ſecond kind, or ſaſtiriar, there are four claſſes; the cheſha ſaſtiriar, minalſtri ſaſtiriar, the chidambara ſaſtiriar, and mogarambara ſaſtiriar. Theſe explain ſeverally the different ſyſtems of their divine law, and receive the youth into their ſchools, in order to make trial of their faith: for if in the end they are not found diſpoſed firmly to believe all the myſteries of their religion, their ſtudy will be deemed to no purpoſe. Beſides the two kinds of learned Brâmmans before mentioned, there are many others, not much inferior to them in wiſdom and erudition, whoſe buſineſs chiefly it is to inſtruct youth in thoſe points which relate to the ceremonies uſed in public worſhip, and ſolemn feſtivals, as they are taught in the gloſſaries, called Saſtirangol [y].

Tribes or families. The Bramens, or Brâmmans, are divided into eighty-two tribes, or more properly, families, aſſuming the names of their reſpective founders; who were ſo many wiſe men or ſcholars famed among them for learning, and called augurs, or diviners, of certain towns where they reſided. Thus the chief of them was called Viſalnagran-aughor, that is, *the Augur of Viſalnagra*; the ſecond Vulnagran-aughor, or *the Augur of Vulnagra*; and ſo of the reſt; the diſciples of each being termed Brâmmans of ſuch an augur.

Their functions. The miniſterial function of the Brâmmans conſiſts in praying with the people, and reading their law. In performing which offices they are to obſerve the following injunctions. 1. To put their bodies into ſeveral poſtures, the better to draw the attention of their auditors. 2. To pray with both hands open to heaven, as ready to receive the things they petition for. 3. To pray with their eyes caſt downwards, and knees doubled under them, in token of awe and reverence. 4. Never to read out of the book delivered to Bremaw, but with a kind of ſinging and quavering voice: which, they ſay, was not only practiſed by Bremaw, when it was firſt publiſhed, but alſo enjoined by God, that they might make his law a matter of rejoicing.

How inſtructed. It belongs alſo to the Brâmmans to educate and inſtruct the youths of the ſame tribe, who gradually advance to the prieſthood, in the following manner. Firſt, about the ſeventh year of their age, they are admitted to diſ-

[y] Phillip's Account of Malab. p. 9, & ſeqq.

cipline,

cipline, being clean washed, to intimate the purity of the tribe which they belong to: then they are received naked, to shew that they have stripped off all other cares, to apply themselves to study. Next, their heads are shaven; only a lock of hair is left behind, to denote that they must not forsake their study; if they do, by that lock they shall be drawn back again. They are likewise bound to a Pythagorean silence and attention: they are forbidden to spit, or cough: they are obliged also to wear about the waist a girdle of antelope-skin, and a thong of the same about the neck, descending under the left arm. This may be called their initiation or noviceship.

Form of ordination.

About the age of fourteen, they are admitted to be Brâmmans, and exchange those leather-thongs for four sealing threads, which pass over the right shoulder, and under the left arm. These they never put off, even when they go to bed; but wear, as the badge of their profession, in honour of God, and the three persons, Bremaw, Vîstney, and Rudderi. At the time of this kind of ordination, they are enjoined; 1. Not to change their tribe. 2. To observe all things contained in the law of the Brâmmans. 3. Not to communicate the mysteries of their religion to any of a different persuasion. These are most of the principal duties observed by the true Brâmmans[z].

Daily duty.

The Brâmmans, pursuant to the precepts contained in the Saftirangol, get up an hour or two before sun-rise, to perform their daily duty. They first ease nature, and then cleanse themselves carefully. They then wash their mouths, and perform that exercise called ashamen kirighey; which is one of the many parts of their outward worship. Their next business is to lift up their minds to God, and read that part of the law which treats of washing and purification; at the same time washing themselves with water. They read their form of prayer, or liturgy, with all its ceremonies; and repeat their kiaddiri, humbly beseeching the Dirumurtigol (H) to present all their performances to the great Supreme Being, in the place where his majesty dwelleth. Then they give honour and worship to their images, bringing their offerings before them. Lastly, they address themselves to the

[z] Lord's Account of the Banians, chap. 10.

(H) The three inferior gods of the first class; Brâmma, Wistnum, and Ruddiren, or Ishuren.

Supreme

Supreme Being, as if he was there visibly present. These ceremonies are so tedious in their practice, that sometimes the greater part of the day is taken up with this kind of exercise: for every part must be regularly and completely performed, and by no means either abridged or interrupted; not even by the presence of the king.

Chudderers. We meet with a class of priests named Chudderers or Shudderers, in East Malabâr. These, from the name, must be priests belonging to the Shudderi, or merchants tribe, commonly called Banîyans; but whether they are real, or only adopted Brâmmans, does not appear from our authors. All we find is, that they are an eccesiastical order; and have licence only to read the six systems (I) or Shasterangol. They are allowed also to wear the lingam, and carry the panchuchoram, or five letters, composing the words nama chiaya; that is, *praise the true God* [b].

Elected priests. The third sort of Hindû priests are those belonging to the fourth tribe, consisting of the mechanics and commonalty. As the Brâmmans will not converse or have any correspondence with these people, they therefore chuse priests from among themselves, as well as gods to worship.

The Vallouvers. Nor are those outcasts, the Parreas, without their priests; for among them is a sacerdotal family named Vallouvers: nay, we are told, that these Vallouvers pretend that they were formerly in the Indies, the same which the Brâmmans are at present. Whence it is conjectured, that the Parreas were the ancient inhabitants of the southern India. However that be, they still apply themselves to the study of astronomy and astrology. There are likewise extant some books of theirs containing moral precepts, which are held in great esteem [c]. Let us now return to the Brâmmans.

[b] Philips's Account of Malabar, p. 14, 20.

[c] P. Pons, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. xxvi. p. 219, & seqq.

(I) The Shudderis, or Banîyans, are not allowed to read the Vedam, or have it explained to them.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Sects of Brammâns.

THE Brâmmans are divided into six sects. The first is named Weistnouwa, from their attachment to Wistnum, whom they hold to be the sovereign God. *First sect, Weistnouwa.*

The sect of Weistnouwa is subdivided into two others, one called Tadwadi, which signifies *disputers*, valuing themselves on discoursing profoundly concerning God. These are marked with a white line from the nose to the forehead, also on the temples, on the place where the arms join the shoulders, and on the breasts, with a circle as large as a half-crown. They say this is the mark of Wistnum, and so strong a charm or defence, that while they wear it, neither the devil nor Jamma, judge of hell, dare lay a finger on them. These Tadwadi have a chief, who lives at Kombekonne, near Palliakatta, on the coast of Choromandel; this chief wears no strings about his neck, like the other Brâmmans, nor has any wives; but when he marries he must quit his order. He commonly carries a bambû stick in his hand [d]. *The Tadwadi, and Ramanowya.*

The second branch is termed Ramanowya Wistnouwa. These mark their forehead with a figure like the Greek ypsylon, beginning at the nose, and carrying it upward; This is done with a kind of white chalk. They likewise make another mark with a hot iron, at the joining of the arms with the shoulders. They say, that when once they have devoted themselves sincerely to Wistnum, he will not punish them although they commit sin, which none can avoid; like a father, who does not put his child to death for committing a fault. They differ in many other points from the Tadwadi; they go bare-headed, and have their hair shaved off, excepting a lock on the crown, which hangs behind. As the head of this sect is a person of consideration, he resides at Kanjewaram, a famous city of Karnâta.

The second sect of Brammâns is called Seivia, and also Aradheya. They hold Eswara, or Ishuren, to be the sovereign God, and all the rest, even Wistnum, to be inferior to him. This sect mark their foreheads with two or three streaks of cow-dung ashes, and some wear a stone lingam about their necks, others in their hair. They *Second sect, Seivia.*

[d] Roger, ubi supra, p. 17, & seq.

make

make their children wear it when eight years old, covered with wax, and tied to their arms. This badge is to ſhew their inviolable attachment to Iſhuren, and that they acknowlege no other god.

Third ſect, Smarta. The third ſect is termed Smarta. Theſe affirm, that Wiſtnum and Iſhuren, although adored under different images, are yet the ſame being, and have an averſion to their competition for the ſovereign godhead. Few of the Soudra, or common people, follow this ſect, as the doctrine is above their capacity.

Fourth ſect, Sharwakka. The fourth ſect of Brammâns by profeſſion is called Sharwakka. Theſe are of the Epicurean ſentiments, denying the immortality of the ſoul, or any future ſtate; and when others argue with them on that point, they require poſitive and viſible proof of their poſition.

Fifth ſect, Paſenda. The fifth ſect is named Paſenda. They ſay, that the Hindû law is not true, and mind nothing but their belly. Like the former ſect, they believe not in a future ſtate; and aſk how it is poſſible, that a man who is burnt to aſhes ſhould come to life again? They make no diſtinction between father and mother, brother and ſiſter; they will eat with any body, and lie with any body, ſaying, that they lay with their own wife, when they lay with another woman. Both ſects are afraid publicly to declare their opinion, to avoid the furious zeal of the other ſects, who, in times paſſed, have made ſeveral maſſacres of thoſe who held that opinion.

Sixth ſect, Chektea. The ſixth ſect is called Chektea. Theſe maintain, that neither Wiſtnum nor Iſhuren is the ſupreme God; but Chekti, from whom they ſay thoſe gods and Brammâ had their origin; that they exiſt ſolely by his power, as does alſo this world. This ſect reſembles the two former, in that they will not ſubmit to the Vedam, and expect that every thing which they are to believe ſhould be made evident to their ſenſes. Theſe three laſt ſects are held as heretics by the Hindûs, and have but very few followers [e].

Sects, as to living. We come now to the Brammân ſects of the ſecond kind; that is, thoſe diſtinguiſhed by their courſe of living. Theſe are denominated Jaghîs when Brammâns; but when they are of the Soudra, or fourth tribe, they are called Joghîs, which the generality of travellers ſeem to have confounded together.

Firſt, the Wanapraſtas. Theſe Jaghîs and Joghîs, ſo ſeparated from the reſt by their manner of life, are of three ſorts or ſects; Wana-

[e] Roger, ubi ſup. p. 21, & ſeq.

praſtas,

praſtas, Sanjaſi, and Avadoutas. The Wanapraſtas retire into the woods with their wives and children, living on ſuch herbs and fruits as they can find there without working. Some of theſe are ſo ſcrupulous, that they will not pluck up the leaſt root from the ground, for fear of diſlodging ſome ſoul from its body; and they are reckoned very holy on account of this retired way of living.

Second, the Sanjaſſi.

The Sanjaſſi renounce all kinds of worldly pleaſures, and are more auſtere than the former ſect. Theſe cannot marry, nor take food above once a-day; nor muſt they eat or drink out of copper, but earthen veſſels. They are obliged to live on alms, and wear a red habit, carrying a bambû wand or ſtick in their hand. They muſt not even touch money, or have any fixed abode: they muſt not ſo much as lodge more than one night in a place, but continually ſhift their quarters, excepting for two months in the year. Theſe Sanjaſſi muſt conquer ſix enemies, concupiſcence, anger, avarice, pride, love of the world, and revenge, in order to fit them for the contemplation of things divine.

Third, the Avadoutas.

The Avadoutas are ſtill more rigid than the Sanjaſſi. They not only abandon their wives and children, but their earthen veſſels, the bambû ſtick, and their cloaths, retaining nothing but a piece of cloth to cover their privities; and ſome lay even that aſide, and go naked, beſmearing their bodies with cow-dung. Theſe, when hungry, go into houſes, and without ſpeaking hold out their hands. Whatever is given them they eat on the ſpot; others will not take ſo much pains for their bread, but retire to the ſide of holy rivers, and there expect the peaſants to bring them victuals, which they accordingly do in abundance, believing it to be a very meritorious act. The Avadoutas are reckoned very holy by the Hindûs, eſpecially thoſe who go naked; being for that reaſon ſuppoſed to have attained the higheſt degree of perfection. However, there are but few who expoſe themſelves in that beaſtly manner to public view [f].

Avadoutas rigid penitents.

All theſe three ſects muſt be conſidered as penitents, whom we meet with in Eaſt Malabâr, under different names, ſuch as Pantaren, Antigol, Guanigol, and the like [g]. Theſe laſt, we are told, are more rigid than the Joghi: they are a kind of anchorites, living in mountains and caves; they have no poſſeſſions, and never ſpeak to women. As they ſurpaſs all the other ſects in auſterity, ſo

[f] Roger, ubi ſup. p. 27, & ſeq.

[g] Phill. Acc. of Malabar, p. 19, 69, 105.

do

do they likewiſe in point of wiſdom, renouncing the plurality of gods, and all the pagod ceremonies [h].

The Vartia. To one of the three ſects above deſcribed may be referred thoſe Vartias, or adopted Brammâns, who are monaſtics. Mr. De Thevenot, ſpeaking of a convent of theſe religious Hindûs at Lahûr, in the Mogol's empire, gives the following account of them. They have their general, provincial, and other ſuperiors; they vow obedience, chaſtity, and poverty, which injunction they ſtrictly obſerve, and ſay their order has been founded above two thouſand years; they live on alms, and have lay-brothers appointed to beg for them: they eat but once a day, and change their houſe every three months. The main point of their inſtitution is to avoid doing to others what they would not have others do to themſelves. This precept they obſerve ſo ſtrictly, that if any body beats them, they do not return the blows, and if they be reviled, they take it patiently. They are very obedient to their ſuperiors: they are forbidden to look a woman or maiden in the face.

Habit and diet. They wear nothing on their bodies, but a cloth to cover their privities, which they bring up to their heads to make a kind of coif, like that of a woman. They can poſſeſs no money, nor muſt reſerve any part of what they feed on to-day for to-morrow; they patiently wait till their purveyors bring them the alms given by thoſe of their tribe. Theſe lay-brothers, to avoid being troubleſome, take but a little from every houſe, as about a handful of rice, or other eatables, which muſt be dreſſed to their hands; for they have no fire in the convent, for fear ſome inſect might be deſtroyed by it. When the purveyors have got proviſions enough, they return to the houſe, and there mingling the rice, lentiles, milk, cheeſe, and the like, all together, an officer diſtributes the ſame equally among the Vartias, who eat their portions, cold or hot, as they are given them, drinking therewith nothing but water. They make their meal about noon, and muſt neither eat nor drink afterwards till the ſame time next day.

Strict chaſtity. The reſt of the day they ſpend in prayer and reading, till ſun-ſet, and then go to ſleep, never lighting a candle. They all lie in the ſame chamber, and have no other bed but the bare ground: they cannot leave the order after they have once taken the vows; but if they violate any of them, eſpecially that of chaſtity, they are expelled not

[h] Phil. Account of Malabâr, p. 26.

only

only the order, but also their tribe. The general, provincial, and all the other officers, change their convent every four months; but their respective offices are for life, and when any of them dies, he names to the religious the person whom he thinks most fit to succeed, and they follow his choice. These Vartias have above ten thousand monasteries in the Indies, and some of them are more austere than others; and there are some among them who think it enough to worship God in spirit, and these do not make use of images, nor will have any pagods near them. There are also religious nuns in some places, who live with a great deal of strictness and regularity [1].

Their numerous monasteries.

CHAP. XXVII.

Description of the Countries contained in the Farther Peninsula of India.

SECT. I.

General Description and History of this Peninsula.

THE Farther Peninsula of India, is bounded northward by a line, drawn from about the eastern mouth of the Ganges, to the bay of Tongking, in twenty degrees of latitude. But as some of the principal kingdoms belonging to it lie partly without those limits, and uniformity requires that we should give the description of each country entire, and in one place, without dividing it; we shall therefore consider this Peninsula in a more extended sense, so as to comprise the whole of those dominions with its limits. In this large acceptation it will be bounded on the north by part of Tibet, and China; on the east by Tong-king, and the gulf of Kochin-china; on the south by the gulf of Siam, and straits of the Sund; and on the west by the bay of Bengal, and the river called the Great Bramaputren: which, according to our ideas, rises in the mountain bounding Tibet, and running southward, separates the countries included in this

Farther Peninsula, its bounds.

[1] Thenenot's Trav. part iii. p. 61, & seq.

peninſula from Hinduſtân, and the territories of certain râjahs.

This Peninſula lies between the firſt and 27th degrees of latitude, and the 107th and 127th degrees of longitude (Y); about one thouſand miles long, from ſouth to north, and nine hundred in breadth from weſt to eaſt, where broadeſt; but in ſome parts, eſpecially the Peninſula of Malakka, very narrow, not exceeding one hundred and fifty, one hundred, or even fifty miles, in one or two places.

Soil in general. This vaſt region is, in general, a very plentiful country, for fruits, ſilks, elephants, metals, drugs, corn, rice, pepper, and oil. It is alſo rich in gold and precious ſtones, ſuch as diamonds, rubies, topazes, and amethiſts.

Countries contained in it, According to ſome early travellers, this Peninſula was formerly divided into a great number of kingdoms, ſome of a vaſt extent, governed by mighty emperors: but either they were impoſed on by the informations of the Indians; or imagining the country extended northward from the coaſts of Bengâl and Pegu, as far as Tartary, they formed imaginary dominions there, to fill up the vacant ſpace. In fact, this north part of the Peninſula was divided among a great number of petty kings, or râjahs; who at length going to war among themſelves, the weaker were ſubdued by the ſtronger. So that at preſent, the dominion compriſed within this third part of India may be reduced to the following nine; Aſſam, Tipra, Arrakan, Pegu, Ava, Laos, Siam, Kamboja, and Kochin-china; to which we may add Tong-king by ſome included within the Peninſula, in order to give it a place in our hiſtory.

but little known. The inland countries, which are Azem, Tipra, Ava, and the Laos, as well as the inland parts of the reſt, are very little known to us at preſent; the beſt memoirs relating to them being thoſe left us by the early travellers, who, invited by the flouriſhing ſtate of them, particularly Pegu, went thither for ſake of commerce, in the ſixteenth century; of which number were Edoardo Barboſa, Cæſar Frederick, Gaſpar Balbi, and our Ralf Fitch. We muſt, however, except Siam, whoſe interior parts the French, by their embaſſies and relations, brought us acquainted with, towards the end of the laſt century.

(Y) Reckoning always from the iſle of Ferro, about 20 deg. weſt of Paris, and 17 deg. 35 min. weſt of London.

How-

However, all this information amounts to very little, for although the maritime parts have been visited by merchants, as well as missioners, yet their relations respect chiefly the inhabitants, and give very little light into either the geography or history of those countries. The truth is, by repeated experiments upon the people, both in a religious and mercantile way, there hath been found but little encouragement either for conversions or commerce; and therefore those coasts are not much frequented at present, by either merchants or divines. The best, if not the only good accounts transmitted by modern authors, relating to the parts in question, being those of Dampier, and captain Hamilton, which last in his new account of the East-Indies, has given us the present state of all the countries and islands, lying between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan. *The cause thereof.*

Before we enter upon a particular description of the countries within this Peninsula, it will be proper to mention something in general of the inhabitants. According to the histories of China, this empire, among the other kingdoms and states included within its wide dominion, numbered those at present found in the Farther peninsula of India, as Tong-King, Kochin-China, and Siam. Travellers still discover very evident proofs of the footing which the Chinese have had in all those countries. Method observes, that the inhabitants of Arrakan, Pegu, Tenasseri, and Siam, resemble the Chinese in features, as well as agree with them in customs and religion [k]. De Faria makes the same observation upon the people of Lao, Lanjang, Jangoma, Bimir, Ava, and Kamboja [l]. *The inhabitants,*

However, this conformity does not extend so far as to exclude certain variations, which almost inevitably arise from accidents and other causes. Thus, with regard to religion, though at bottom the same through the whole Peninsula, yet one nation differs from another in their ceremonies, in their images, their saints, and even the founders of their respective laws; which are to be considered as so many different sects of the same faith: nor are our readers, on account of the great agreement which appears in the external form and objects of worship, used by the inhabitants of the Farther Peninsula of the Indies, compared with those found among the people of *and their religion.*

[k] Meth. ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005. [l] De Faria, Port. Asia, vol. ii. p. 12.

the Hither Peninsula, to suppose that the religion is the same in both regions: for the idolatry of the Malabars consists in tritheism, or the adoration of three inferior gods, directed by the supreme Being to make and govern the universe. Whereas that of the Peguers, Siamese, &c. comes originally from Tibet; and has for its founder, as well as prime object of worship, a person, who, about one thousand years before the Christian æra, broached his false religion in that country.

Its origin. He proposed to reside corporally among his votaries, and receive their adorations in person. Lastly, to give his followers a more convincing proof of the transformations of their god, as well as the doctrine of the metempsychosis, than the Indians had, he gave out that he would, from time to time, ascend to heaven, and return again in a different body.

Vast extent of it. This sect, for a long time, had gotten footing in the Hither Peninsula of the Indies; but the Brammâns never rested till they had excited the râjahs against them, who rooted them out with fire and sword. Budda, or Budha, is the name given by the western Indians to this pretended deity, who, in other parts, has different appellations. In China he is called Fo and She-kya; in Japan, Shakka; in Tong-king, Thikka; and in Tibet, La. We shall only add, that the idolatry of Tibet is six times more extended than that of the Brammâns: being spread over Great Tartary, from west to east, China, Japan, and the oriental islands, besides the country contained in the Farther Peninsula of the Indies.

SECT. II.

Account of the Kingdoms of Assam and Tipra.

The Kingdom of Assam.

Assam kingdom. OF these two countries we know little more than their names. The first lies so much out of the way of travellers, that, if it had not been for the expedition of the famous Amîr Jemla, into that Indian state, about the middle of the last century, in order to annex it to the crown of Hindûstân, it is possible that we might never have heard of it.

Assam, called also Asham, and Azem, has on the north the mountains of Tibet, in that part called Lassa, or Barantola; on the south Tipra, and Arrakant; it is uncertain whether it be bounded on the east with the great Tsanpu, which

which paſſes through Arrakan, or a river more to the weſt; and its weſtern boundary ſeems to be the great Bramaputren before mentioned. This river is called Barremporter in a ſurvey made of the mouths of the Ganges (A), by order of the Engliſh Eaſt India company: it enters the Ganges by one of its branches, ſix leagues to the eaſt of Dakka, capital of Bengâl, and ſeems to have its ſource in the mountains of Tibet, to the north or north-eaſt of Azo; but at what diſtance is uncertain.

Azo city and fortreſs.

Azo, or Azoo, we are told, belonged properly to Bengâl, from which country it had been diſmembered by the râjah, or king, of Aſham. According to Tavernier, the tombs of the kings of Aſem, or Aſham, and all the royal family, were in this city: he adds, that for many ages paſt, the kings had built chapels in the great pagod for their ſepulture; and laid up in vaults, made there for the purpoſe, great quantities of gold and ſilver, with other rich effects. It was cuſtomary alſo to bury with the deceaſed prince whatever things of value he moſt eſteemed in his life-time, that they might be of ſervice to him in the other world [m]: but if this was a city newly conquered from Bengâl, how could the tombs of the ancient kings of Aſem be found there?

Chamdara city.

The firſt place in the kingdom of Aſſem, according to Bernier, was Chamdara, twenty-ſix days journey from Azo; four days journey from Chamdara is Guerguon, the metropolis of Aſſem, which Jemla pillaged; the râjah having abandoned it on that general's approach, and fled to the mountains, doubtleſs of Tibet, from whence he ſent down people to carry away all the proviſions in the country [n].

Guerguon the capital.

Kemmeroof city.

Tavernier mentions neither Chamdara nor Guerguon; but ſays, Kenneroof, or Kemmeroof, is the capital city, where the king of Aſſem keeps his court. He adds, that it is twenty-five or thirty days journey from the ancient capital, which bore the name of the kingdom [o].

This imperfect, and in ſome meaſure contradictory, account is all we have from authors concerning the geography of Aſſem; which yet they repreſent to be of ſo great extent: but we muſt obſerve, that this extent is to

[m] Tavern. Trav. part. ii. p. 187. [n] Bernier, ubi ſupra. [o] Tavern, ubi ſupra.

(A) To be found in Thornton's Engliſh pilot; but the ſcale of latitude ſeems not to be well adjuſted to it.

be underſtood only with regard to its length, from weſt to eaſt; for its breadth, from the mountains of Tibet, ſouthward, cannot be more than two or three days journey.

Soil and produce. With regard to the ſoil and inhabitants of Aſſem, Tavernier has communicated ſeveral particulars. According to this author, it is one of the beſt countries in Aſia, producing all the neceſſaries of life; and, inſtead of wanting a ſupply from other countries, is able to furniſh them with ſeveral metals; for here are mines of gold, ſilver, iron, and lead; beſides great ſtore of ſilk, but coarſe. There is one kind ſpun by animals, like their ſilk-worms, which live the year under trees. The ſilks made of it have a fine gloſs, but fret preſently. They waſh them in a lye, made of the aſhes of the leaves of Adam's fig-tree, which makes them white as ſnow. Here is alſo plenty of gum lack, of two ſorts. One grows under the trees, and is of a red colour, with whoſe expreſſed juice they paint their linen; the remaining ſubſtance ſerves to varniſh cabinets, and make wax; for which uſes it is the beſt in all the Eaſt. As for their gold, they neither ſend it abroad, nor coin it into money; but make it all into ingots, which paſs in trade among the inhabitants: however, the ſilver is coined by the king into ſmall pieces, to the value of ten ſous each [p].

The king requires no taxes of his people; but reſerves to himſelf all the mines in his kingdom; in which, to eaſe his ſubjects, none but ſlaves are employed to work.

The inhabitants. The inhabitants are generally well complexioned, only they who live ſoutherly are more ſwarthy than the reſt; neither are they ſo well featured, and the women are ſomewhat flat-noſed: however, to make amends, they are not ſo ſubject to wens, or ſwellings in their throats, as thoſe who dwell more to the north, and derive this diſeaſe from the uſe of bad water. Theſe ſouthern people have no other apparel than a middle cloth, and on their heads a blue cap or bonnet, hung about with boar's teeth. They pierce holes in their ears, which are an inch wide, and hang in them pieces of gold and ſilver. They are very fond of bracelets, made of coral and amber for the rich, while the meaner ſort take up with thoſe of tortoiſe, and other large ſhells, ſawed into rings.

Polygamy and diet. As the inhabitants of Aſſem pay no taxes, they live at their eaſe, with each his houſe, and commonly an elephant

[p] Tavern, ubi ſupra. p. 181, & ſeq.

to

to carry his wives, for he is allowed to marry four; and aſſigns to every one her peculiar office or buſineſs in the family. Although proviſions are in great plenty, yet they prefer dogs-fleſh to all others. They have excellent vines, but dry the grapes to make brandy inſtead of wine. They have no ſalt but what is artificial, made from two ſorts of aſhes: the firſt are thoſe of the green ſtuff that ſwims on ſtagnant waters, and is the food of ducks and frogs. This they dry and burn; and the aſhes, being boiled in a cloth, yield very good ſalt. The other kind of aſhes are thoſe of the leaves of Adam's fig-tree; but the ſalt of them is ſo extremely pungent or acrid, that, to render it fit for the mouth, they take the following method: they put the aſhes in water, and having ſtirred them for ten or twelve hours together, ſtrain out the ſubſtance through linen; then they boil it till all the moiſture evaporates; and what remains at the bottom of the veſſel proves a very good and white ſalt.

Burials. When any man is buried in this country, all his friends and relations muſt appear at his funeral; and, in laying the body in the ground, they all take off their bracelets and throw them into the grave: for they are taught to believe, that they who are bad livers here want all things in the other life, while the good have plenty; and that therefore it is neceſſary to bury with them what will ſupply their occaſions.

Invention of cannon and gun-powder. It is thought that the people of Aſſem were long ago the inventors of cannon and gun-powder; that from them the uſe of thoſe inſtruments of deſtruction paſſed to the inhabitants of Pegu, and from thence to the Chineſe; to whom that invention has been commonly aſcribed. This however, we are told, is certain, that Amîr Jemla brought from Aſſem ſeveral pieces of artillery, all of iron, and ſtore of excellent powder, both made in the ſame country. The powder is round and ſmall, like ours, and very ſtrong [q]. The inhabitants being ſo well provided with arms, it may ſeem ſtrange that they ſhould have continued in peace, as it is ſaid, for above five hundred years, when Amîr invaded them; for that advantage, at the ſame time it ſecured their own dominions, muſt, one would think, have prompted them to invade thoſe of their neighbours.

[q] Tavern, p. 187, & ſeq.

The Kingdom of Tipra.

Its bounds. THIS kingdom, whose name is written also Tippora and Tippéra (B), lies on the north of Arrakan, and, as it should seem, on the south of Assem; its eastern boundary may be the river passing through Arrakan, or one which falls into it; and its western, either that of Arrakan, or the river Bramaputren before mentioned: for it has varied its bounds from time to time. Tavernier says, it had, in his time, Arrakan on the west and south, with part of Pegu to the south-west; and that to travel from thence to Dakka, the merchants were obliged to pass through Arrakan.

Subject to Arrakan. This kingdom was formerly of no inconsiderable strength, when Chatigan belonged to it; but as it was inferior in forces to Arrakan, then growing in power, that city often changed masters with the latter, which at length subdued the whole country of Tipra, with its capital city of the same name: however, about the middle of the last century, it seems to have been independent, for Tavernier says nothing to the contrary [r]; but not long after we find it in subjection to Arrakan [s], in which state it probably has continued ever since.

Commodities. The country of Tipra has nothing to invite foreign merchants. There is indeed a gold mine, but the metal is very impure; likewise a sort of very coarse silk: both of these commodities are sent to China, from whence, in return, is brought silver.

The inhabitants. The inhabitants of Tipra are no less subject to wens in their throats than those of Assem and Boutan, or Tibet: the women have them commonly so long that they hang down to the middle of their breasts.

The common carriage of the country were horses and oxen; the king, and men of quality, rode in pallekis, and on their elephants of war. His whole revenue arose out of the silk and gold found in his dominions; which, being exchanged in China for silver, this latter was coined into pieces, the value of ten sous each. There are likewise current thin pieces of gold, like the aspers of Turkey, of which there are two sorts; four of one sort make a

Money.

[r] Tavern. ibid. [s] See Oving. p. 564.

(B) Fitch calls it Tippora, or Porto Grande; perhaps from Chatigan, which was then by the Portuguese called Porto Grande. See Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. ii. p. 1736.

crown,

crown, and twelve of the other. This, in effect, is all we know concerning Tipra.

SECT. III.

Kingdom of Arrakan, or Rakan.

Geographical Description.

THIS country is variously denominated by authors; some call it Arakan, or Arrakan; others, Orrakan; and some, as Bernier, Rakan. Fitch calls it the kingdom of Rakam and Rame[t]; as if two monarchies had been united in one. Bernier likewise styles it Rakan, or May. *The name.*

Arrakan is situate to the south of Tipra, and has on the east the kingdom of Ava and Pegu; on the west it is bounded by Bengal, from which it is separated by the river of Chatigan and gulf of Bengal: it extends from 16 deg. 30 min. to 24 deg. of latitude; that is about five hundred and ten geographical, or five hundred and eighty-six English miles, whereof three hundred and eighty are sea-coast, reaching from cape Negrais in the south, to Chatigan in the north. Its breadth northwards is about two hundred and ten miles; but, from Chatigan southward, it decreases gradually to cape Negrais, where a very few miles measure it from west to east. Formerly the bounds of Arrakan were more extensive, as having comprised not only the kingdoms of Assaram, Tipra, and Chakomas[u], or Assem, on the north; but also that of Pegu on the south. *Site and extent.*

The sea-coast, though of great extent, is inhabited but in a few places, where the people are able to defend the products of the ground from the ravages of wild elephants, or buffalos, and their cattle from the claws of numerous tigers, who would soon lay all waste, should the people attempt to settle in that part. However, the islands being out of their reach, some of them are inhabited by poor fishermen, who lead a wretched life. There are abundance of islands on the Arrakan coast, which all lie close to the shore, excepting the Buffalo isles; these lie about four leagues off, and the channels between them are navigable. There are two islands of the name of Negrais, the Greater and Lesser; this last, which makes the point called the Cape, is small and low, *The sea-coast.*

[t] Fitch apud Purch. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1736. p. 564.

[u] Ovingt.

barren

barren and rocky. Both of them are environed with dangerous rocks; and three leagues to the south of the Leſſer, is a reef of ſunk rocks, called the Legarti, or Lizards, a league long, but diſcoverable by the breaking of the ſea. The tides along this coaſt are remarkable ſtrong and high[x]: they riſe twelve or fifteen feet in the rivers, and to eighteen or twenty during the ſpring-tides; at which time, by the rapidity of the currents in the ebb and flow, ſhips perform great voyages in a ſhort time, and both go and return in the ſame day[y].

Country and ſoil. The air of Arrakan is very good; the inhabitants are not troubled with peſtilential diſeaſes. The country abounds with meadows and paſture lands, well watered with rivers and brooks; the plains are exceedingly fertile, and the mountains green. The number of orchards and pleaſure-gardens is infinite; they are alſo green and pleaſant all the year round, although during the winter, which holds from Auguſt to October, you have almoſt continually moiſt and rainy weather, accompanied with ſtorms. To make amends, the ſummer which ſucceeds is charming; and then they gather in their harveſt. They have all the vegetable neceſſaries of life in abundance, excepting wheat and rye. Inſtead of bread they boil rice, till the water diſappears, and it becomes a ſolid maſs. As to the air, though the country lies in ſo warm a latitude, yet it ſometimes freezes to ſuch a degree when the north-eaſt wind blows, that they are forced to cut all ſorts of oils with knives[z].

Animals. Although there is variety of tame as well wild beaſts in Arrakan, yet horſes are ſo ſcarce, that Schouten ſaw but one all the while he was in the country: inſtead of them they make uſe of buffalos for ploughing and other ſervices. Theſe animals are very large and ſtrong, with dreadful horns, wherewith they preſently gore to death thoſe whom they attack, and they often run at ſtrangers who paſs along the roads near which they feed, eſpecially if they wear any thing red, which is a colour they cannot endure; nevertheleſs, they are tamely obedient to the blacks who keep them, and at a ſound of a horn, aſſemble about them, let them get on their backs, and at their command, will carry them ſafely over the moſt rapid river, or rugged ways, the reſt following in ſucceſſion.

[x] Hamilt. New Acc. Eaſt Ind. vol. ii. p. 29, & ſeq. [y] Schouten, ap. Recueil. Voy. Holl. tom. vi. p. 242. [z] Ibid, p. 223, 228, 230.

Among

Among other animals there is an infinite number of goats, and a great quantity of game. There is likewise plenty of geese, ducks, and fowl, together with excellent fish.

The kingdom of Arrakan, or empire of Mogo, is said to comprise twelve lesser kingdoms, which are always governed by crowned heads, or those who have the title of kings; and twenty-four provinces: but of these we find not the names in authors[a]. The cities, towns, and villages of this country are very numerous and populous. But scarce any of them are known to Europeans, excepting such as lie near the coasts. *Provinces.*

The capital of Arrakan gives name to the kingdom. It is nearly of the same size with Amsterdam, but much more populous. It is surrounded with suburbs, which extend some leagues in length. This is Schouten's account, who was there in 1661; by others we are farther informed, that it stands in a valley, and is no less than fifteen miles in compass, environed with a ridge of steep and craggy hills, which serve it instead of walls, and appear as such to one who is in the city, being artificially cut to resemble a strong fortification. The outlets, which serve for gates, are hewn through the rocks, and being strengthened by bulwarks, render the place impregnable. Besides these out-works, it is defended by a castle, of such incredible strength, that the king of Brama, with an army of three hundred thousand men, and forty thousand elephants, was forced to raise the siege with disgrace. *Arrakan city.*

Through the valley runs a large river, which, dividing into several rivulets or streams, conveys merchandizes and provisions to all the streets of Arrakan. Having passed through the city, which is forty-five or fifty miles distant from the sea, they unite again, above half-way down, in two channels: one of which falls northward into the gulf of Bengâl at Orietan, the other southward, at Dobazi, or Duabakam, both which places are much frequented by merchants; only the ebbings and flowings of the sea are so violent, especially about the time of the full moon, that ships can hardly ride safe in the ports[b]. This is a noble spacious river, its mouth both wide and deep, having no less then six fathoms water at the entrance, and above twenty in some places farther in, *The river.*

[a] Ovingt. Voy. Surat, p. 560, 568. [b] Idem, p. 554, & seqq.

where

where it makes a harbour large enough to hold all the ships in Europe [c].

Rise and course. This we take to be the river, which, in the Jesuits' map of Tibet, is named the Great Tsanpu: it rises in the west parts of that vast country, near the springs of the Ganges, and runs quite through it eastward, passing near Lâssa, the residence of the Great Lâma; till drawing near the frontiers of China, it takes a vast sweep to the southward, and turns south-west, along the borders of Assem and Tipra, into Arrakan, which it passes through on the eastern side of it, from north to south, and at length falls into the gulph at Bengâl. Travellers have not communicated the name given to this river in the country; it is called by our geographers the river of Arrakan.

The houses. Schouten never saw a city where the buildings were so thick, or the streets so crouded with people; but most of the houses are no better than low cabins: they stand at a distance from the ground on pillars, because almost every night there arises a fog which covers the surface of the earth, and continues till dissipated by the morning sun. The houses are built with the branches of palm-trees, bambû canes, and koko-leaves; they have many little windows, and are very airy. Those of the better and middling sort have handsome apartments, which communicate one with another, and are very well contrived. They have neither garrets, cellars, nor fire-places, and the kitchens are without-doors, commonly under little penthouses near the entrance, where the women dress their meat in earthen pots. They sleep on carpets and mats, covering themselves with pieces of linen or cotton [d]. Although the buildings are in general mean, yet one meets with several spacious piazzas, where trade is carried on. The princes and nobility employ a different kind of timber in their houses, and are profuse in adorning their apartments with exquisite carving and gildings; nor are the inferior sort destitute of embellishments. They reckon no fewer than six hundred pagods in this metropolis.

The king's palace. The king's palace is vastly large; but not so beautiful for its structure; it is supported by large and tall pillars, made of whole trees, and covered over with gold. The

[c] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 28, & seq. See also D'Anville's Map of India, for the Company, 1752. & seq.

[d] Schout. ubi supra, p. 229.

apartments

apartments above are built with red and white sandal, a sort of eagle-wood, and other odoriferous timber. In the middle of the palace is a great hall, called the Golden House, because the inside is entirely overlaid with gold; and over the raised place is fixed a canopy, hung round with above a hundred kombalenghe, or large wedges of the same metal, in the shape of sugar-loaves, each weighing above forty pounds. Here likewise are to be seen seven idols, each the height of a man, cast in gold, two inches thick, and adorned with rubies, emeralds, saphires, and diamonds of an extraordinary size. In the center of this hall stands a square stool, of three hands-breadth, supporting a cabinet, both of pure gold, and studded with precious stones, wherein are kept the two kanekas, or famous pendants, made in the form of pyramids, of two rubies, each of the length of a man's little finger, and broad at the base as a hen's egg. These jewels have been the source of bloody wars among the neighbouring potentates, not so much on account of their value, as that the prince who possesses them is supposed to have a right of dominion over the rest. This king, however, never wears them but on the day of his coronation [e]. *Great wealth.*

In another apartment of the palace stands the statue of the king of Barma, commonly called Brama, murdered by his subjects, which is made with so great skill as to raise admiration in the beholders, who are always very numerous, because that prince was reckoned a great saint, and famed for curing diseases, especially the bloody-flux, on which account they resort to his statue. *Fine statue.*

Not far from the palace is a great lake full of little isles, inhabited by their priests, with boats plying on it; but it has no communication with the city, being hindered by a bank, so contrived, that in case the place was forced by an enemy, they might be all drowned by cutting a passage for the water through the bank. *Great lake.*

The most northern maritime city is Orietan, to which, from the capital, there is a delightful passage by water; the banks of the river being set with tall trees, whose inclining heads make a continued shade to defend the traveller from the sun; who is diverted with apes and peacocks which frequent them. The city is much resorted by merchants from all parts of India, and even China and Japan. It is the capital of one of the twelve provinces, whose governor receives a crown from the king at his co- *Orietan.*

[e] Ovingt. ubi supra, p. 556, & seqq.

ronation,

ronation, and always enjoys the ſame title. Not far from the city ſtands the mountain Mawm, with a lake of the ſame name at the foot of it. Hither are baniſhed ſtate offenders; and although the mountain is ſo craggy, and infeſted with wild beaſts, that it is almoſt impaſſable; yet the king not only cauſes thoſe exiles to be ſtrictly guarded, but farther, to prevent their flight, cuts off their heels.

Peroem city. From the mountain Mawm you croſs the gulf to Peroem, another city, which being near the ſea, with a good harbour, is a place of great trade. The governor exerciſes abſolute authority within his juriſdiction, and keeps a court anſwerable to the majeſty of a king.

Ramu city. Some days journey diſtant is Ramu, a conſiderable city like the preceding; but the way between them is very dangerous, whether you go by land or water, the ſea being ſubject to ſudden ſtorms; and the road by land lying acroſs the mountains of Pre, which ſeparate Arrakan from Pegu, is infeſted with wild beaſts. There is in this part of the country a mountain called Pora, that is, *God*, from an idol on the top of it ſitting croſs-legged, and much reſorted to by the devout Indians. By this place runs a large river, from which ſome engineers would have perſuaded the king to cut a canal as far as Arrakan; but he rejected that project, for fear of expoſing his capital to the incurſions of the Mogols, who might eaſily convey their forces down ſuch a paſſage.

Dianga city. The next place of note on this tempeſtuous coaſt is Dianga, or Diango, which ſome aſſign to Bengâl; but in Schouten's time it was a frontier city of Arrakan. Indeed this city, as well as Chatigan, which was undoubtedly once an empory of this kingdom, and commonly governed by the king's ſecond ſon, has frequently ſhared the fate of frontier towns, in changing its maſters. The greater part of its inhabitants are Portugueſe fugitives, or their deſcendents, who enjoy great privileges by grant of the king, and have a church here belonging to the Auguſtin friars.

Sundiva iſland. There are other places along this coaſt ſubject to the king of Arrakan, as Koromoria, Sedoa, Zara, and port of Magaeni; to which may be added the iſland of Sundiva, already mentioned, abounding with ſalt, about a hundred miles in compaſs, and twenty from the coaſt of Bengâl, to which it properly belongs. The Portugueſe looking on it as a fit place for a retreat, being naturally well fortified, in 1602, took it from the Mogols, who

ſome

ſome time before had forced it out of the hands of its own prince: this latter gave up to them likewiſe all his right and title thereto; but the king of Arrakan fearing the growth of their power, compelled them next year to retire from thence to Bakala, and other places of Bengâl [f].

Deſcending the ſouthern ſtream of the river from the city of Arrakan, we come to Dobazi, or Duabakem, a city and port of great traffick. From thence, following the coaſt, we arrive at Chudabe, which, having a commodious port, is likewiſe much frequented by foreign merchants. Not far from hence lies cape Negrais; and near it, according to Toſſi, the iſland Munay, famous for its many temples, and being the reſidence of the chief raulîn, or pope of Arrakan [g]. At this cape Arrakan ends, although Toſſi extends it along the ſouth coaſt as far as Sirian, which properly belongs to Pegu; and others make cape Negrais, with all the coaſt northwards to beyond 18 degrees of latitude, to belong to Ava.

Dobazi city.

Cape Negrais.

Account of the Inhabitants.

THE people of Arrakan eſteem a broad flat forehead, which they give their children by binding hard on that part a plate of lead as ſoon as they are born, letting it lie on till the effect be produced. Their noſtrils are large and open, their eyes ſmall but quick, their ears reach down to their ſhoulders, like thoſe of the Malabârs, and they are very fond of a dark purple colour [h].

Their perſons.

The ſikkes, counſellors of ſtate, nobility, and all people of condition, wear a veſt, or ſhirt, of fine white callico, which ſits cloſe to the body and arms. Over it they have a long gown of the ſame kind, which buttons round the arms, and tied cloſe upon the breaſt with ribbands. Beſides this they have an apron, which covers the belly and thighs before, with another piece of white callico like a bag, which, gathered in many folds, covers the parts behind, and is tied round the waiſt, from whence it hangs; ſo that they look as if they carried a large bundle of cloth about them. They let their hair grow long, tying it in treſſes behind the head, like the women in Holland, and adorn it with fine cloth, made up in knots: the women are tolerably fair.

Dreſs of the men.

The women wear a kind of flowered gauſe, which is tranſparent, and covering the boſom, paſſes over the

[f] Ovingt. p. 561, & ſeqq. [g] Ibid. p. 565. [h] Ibid. p. 569.

ſhoulders.

ſhoulders. They likewiſe faſten about their waſte an apron of fine callico, which goes three or four times round them, and reaches to their feet. They who are rich wear a ſilk ſcarf over one of their arms. Their hair is not tied, but done into buckles, in an agreeable manner. They ſtretch their ears by boring them when very young, and putting in the holes rolls of parchment, or the like, which they enlarge from time to time; they wear in them rings of glaſs, ſilver, or other materials, which make a gingling againſt the neck as they go along. Sometimes they have bracelets all the way up their arms to the elbows, and from the ancles to the calves of their legs.

The people, in general, are very oſtentatious, and uſually make an appearance beyond their ability.

Their diet loathſome.

In their entertainments they have plenty of proviſions; but then they are ſuch as are neither pleaſing to the eye nor taſte. They mix with their choiceſt diſhes the fleſh of rats, mice, ſerpents, and other loathſome animals. They never eat fiſh till it is in a ſtate of corruption. They take this putrid fiſh, after it has been dried in the ſun, and beating it into a conſiſtency, make a kind of muſtard of it, which they call ſidol, and this they ſtrew over all their victuals. The better ſort make uſe of the fleſh of crabs, mixed with other ingredients. They ſerve up their meat in ſmall diſhes, one hundred or two at a time. Inſtead of bread they uſe rice, both parched and bruiſed, or otherwiſe ordered in the flour [i]. Their uſual drink is water, or a liquor called auze, which is the juice of a tree much like the palm, and taken from it by inciſion, in the ſame manner as in the other Peninſula of India.

Their marriages.

The people of Arrakan when they marry virgins, hire ſtrangers to deflower them, and think themſelves very happy when their brides prove pregnant from this firſt embrace. The parties confirm their engagements before the idol, in preſence of their parents; the talipoin, or prieſt, of whoſe ſect they are, performing certain ceremonies beſides. On theſe occaſions there are preſents made of precious ſtones to the bride; fire-works are played off, and feaſts prepared, accompanied with muſic and dancing. The men are allowed ſeveral wives; they may likewiſe keep concubines, and make uſe of the public dancers [k].

Sick, how treated.

When any perſon is taken ill, the phyſician is ſent for; but the raulin, or prieſt, is the perſon on whom they moſt

[i] Ovingnt. ubi ſupra, p. 569. [k] Schouten, p 336, & ſeq.

depend

depend for a cure. He firſt blows his breath on the patient, repeating certain prayers; and if this ceremony does not produce the deſired effect, he tells him that he muſt offer a ſacrifice to Ghaor Baos, that is, the *God of the Four Winds*, who is the author of all diſtempers. This ſacrifice, called kalouko, conſiſts of fowls, hogs, and other animals, and muſt be repeated four times, to every wind diſtinctly, in caſe he does not recover time enough to prevent the expence. On theſe ſacrifices the prieſts feaſt themſelves; but if, after theſe offerings, the diſtemper proves obſtinate, then the wife, or neareſt relation, muſt make a vow to perform a talagno. A chamber muſt be hung with rich tapeſtry, and an idol placed upon an altar raiſed at one end of it; when all things are made ready, on the day appointed, the prieſts, with the ſick perſon's relations, repair thither, and are feaſted for eight days together.

Dancing phyſic.

To complete the farce, the perſon who makes the vow is obliged to dance as long as he is able to ſtand; and when his legs will ſupport him no longer, he muſt take hold of a piece of cloth faſtened to a beam, and continue dancing till he has quite exhauſted his ſpirits, and drops down on the ſpot. Then the muſic is redoubled, and the ſpectators envy his happineſs; ſuppoſing him all the while he lies in this condition to converſe with the idol. This exerciſe he is obliged to repeat every day as long as the feaſting laſts; but if he has not ſtrength to go through with it, ſome near relation is to dance in his place. If after the talagno is completed, the patient happens to recover, he is carried to the pagods, where he is anointed with perfumed oils from head to foot: but if, on the contrary, he dies, the prieſt tells his relation, that the ſacrifices were well accepted by the gods; and that the reaſon why they did not grant him a longer life was, becauſe they deſigned him a greater favour, by taking him to themſelves.

Their funerals.

Their funerals are no leſs ſuperſtitious: the corpſe being brought into the middle of the houſe, the rauſin walks round it, and ſays over it certain prayers, whilſt others perfume the place with incenſe; and the family beat upon a broad piece of braſs, keeping ſtrict watch at the ſame time, leſt a black cat ſhould paſs over him: for in that caſe he would be conſtrained to return to life again with ignominy, and be deprived of bliſs. Before the body is carried out of the houſe, they invite to a ban-

quet a ſort of people called Graii, whoſe refuſal cauſes dreadful lamentation among his relations; as taking it for an infallible ſign that his ſoul is condemned to the houſe of ſmoke, ſo they call hell. The coffin is adorned according to the ability of the people: and as they hold the metempſychoſis, they paint on it the figures of horſes, elephants, eagles, cows, lions, and the like noble animals, as it were to direct the departed ſoul to the beſt lodging; unleſs, out of humility, the deceaſed had ordered rats, frogs, and the moſt contemptible creatures, to be drawn in their ſtead, as more ſuitable receptacles for his polluted ſoul: then the body is carried into the field and burnt to aſhes. The raulîn kindles the fire, which the relations attend, clad in white; which is their mourning colour, only they wear a black band round their head [l].

The ſick expoſed. At their funerals they have always hired mourners, who attend ſometimes all night as well as day, and pretend much ſorrow. They who cannot afford wood to burn the corpſe, for it is very dear in this country, carry it to the river at low water, and leave it to be carried away by the next tide: but as the dead carcaſes often remain in the river, either ſunk or floating, they communicate an ill taſte to the water. This practice alſo fills the country with ravens, kites, and other birds of prey, which not only feed on carcaſes, but attack the buffaloes, and other horned cattle; fixing on their back, and tearing off the fleſh to the very bones, in ſpite of all the efforts to ſhake them off. The natives not only carry the dead bodies to rivers, but alſo expoſe the living in the ſame manner, when afflicted with grievous diſeaſes, which they judge to be incurable; ſo that if the water does not carry them clear away, they are ſure to be drowned. This they call humanity, charity, and compaſſion for the ſick perſon; who, by this epedient, is delivered from a moſt miſerable ſtate here, and ſent to enjoy great happineſs in heaven [m].

No foreign commerce. The people of Arrakân trade very little by ſea. All their navigation extends no farther than Bengâl and Pegu; whither, upon occaſion, they ſend their jeliyaſſes of war. For they neither covet the poſſeſſions of other nations, nor ſend colonies into other parts; much leſs do they delight in foreign commerce. What trade they have is

[l] Ovingt. ubi ſupra, p. 570, and ſeqq. ſupra, p. 337.

[m] Schout. ubi.

brought

brought home to them by the merchants of distant countries. As the country produces timber for building, some lead, tin, stick-lack, and elephants teeth, some of the Great Mogol's subjects trade hither: and sometimes they meet with bargains of diamonds, rubies, other precious stones, and gold rupis.

Whatever foreign commerce there is in Arrakan, it is carried on by the Mohammedans, who are settled here in great numbers; particularly at Bandel. Some trade in elephants, which they send to Orixa, the coast of Choromandal, Golkonda, and Persia: in return for which, and other goods, they carry back calicoes, silks, and spiceries. *Mohammedans.*

The inhabitants of Arrakan are idolaters, and worship devoutly their images, made of clay, baked in the sun [n]. The idols in their temples are so numerous, that one of them is reported to contain no fewer than twenty thousand. They are built in the form of pyramids or spires. Besides the temple-idols, they have their domestic gods: to both sorts they offer victuals every day; and both are clothed by them in winter, that they may not catch cold. They wear the mark of their household god branded on their arms, sides, or shoulders. On their anniversary festival, in commemoration of the dead, they carry in procession one of their idols, Quiay Poragray, in a heavy chariot, attended with ninety of the priests, clothed in yellow sattin. Many throw themselves under the wheels, others hang themselves on hooks, fastened for the purpose, and sprinkle him with their blood. These martyrs to folly are in such veneration with the people, that he thinks himself happy on whom one drop of their blood happens to light. Nay, the hooks are taken down by the priests, as sacred relics, and carefully preserved in their temples. *Religion of Arrakan like the Indian.*

Their priests, called raulin, or raulini, are divided into three orders, distinguished by the names pungrîni, panjani, and shoshom; something resembling the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the Christian hierarchy. The chief of their priests is called shoshom pungri; which title imports as much among them as that of pope does at Rome. On him depend all ecclesiastical causes, and he is had in such veneration even by the king, that his majesty places him on his right hand, and never speaks to him without a profound reverence. The place of his residence, or see, is in the island of Munay. All the priesthood are clothed in yellow, and have their heads *Their hierarchy.*

[n] Schout. p. 239, 235.

ſhaven. All go uncovered, excepting the pungrîni, or thoſe of the firſt order, who wear a yellow mitre, with the point turned and falling backwards. They are obliged by vow to live ſingle; and in caſe of diſobedience, are degraded: by which means they are reduced to the condition of laics, and are taxed as ſuch °.

Monks and hermits. They live partly in houſes of their own, and on their eſtates; partly in cloiſters, which are founded by their king, or great men, and generally very ſumptuous; but they are all ſubject to one ſpiritual head, as before mentioned.

Government. The government of Arrakan is chiefly in the hands of the twelve princes before mentioned; who are honoured with the title of kings, reſiding in the principal cities, in twelve royal palaces, with each a great ſeraglio, as well for their women as thoſe they educate for the king of all the reſt, who keeps his court in the city of Arrakan.

King, his titles and places of reſidence. This monarch affects as lofty titles as any of his neighbours; ſtyling himſelf emperor of Arrakan, poſſeſſor of the white elephant (C), with the two Kenekas, and by virtue of them, rightful heir of Pegu and Brama; lord of the twelve Boyoni of Bengal, and of the twelve kings (meaning thoſe in Arrakan) who lay the higheſt hair of their heads under the ſoles of his feet. His uſual reſidence is in the city of Arrakan; but it is cuſtomary with him in ſummer to ſpend two months in a kind of progreſs by water to Orietan; in which he is attended by his nobility, in boats, ſo artfully contrived and diſpoſed, that they appear rather like a floating palace or city, than what they are. In this progreſs he does not omit to adminiſter juſtice; but hears cauſes as regularly as when at land. One pretence for this maritime journey is to viſit the pagod of Quiay Poragray, their ſupreme deity; to whom he daily ſends a ſumptuous dinner.

Superſtition and cruelty. This, among many inſtances, ſhews the king of Arrakan to be very ſuperſtitious; and this ſuperſtition frequently leads them into acts of the greateſt barbarity. Toſi relates of one of them, that, being told he could not long ſurvive his coronation, which is performed with the greateſt

° Ovingt. p. 575, & ſeqq.

(C) This famous white elephant was wreſted from the king of Siam, by the ſovereign of Pegu, in 1567. It was taken by the king of Tangu, at the ſurrender of Pegu city, in 1599, and delivered to the king of Arrakan ſoon after.

pomp,

pomp, he put it off, although the high-prieſt was already ſetting the crown on his head; nor would admit that ceremony for the ſpace of twelve years: but being preſſed to it by his lords, and not able to defer it any longer, he conſulted a Mohammedan, to know whether there was any way to avert the omen. The Muſſulman, with an intention, it is ſaid, to deſtroy thoſe whom he reckoned enemies of his religion, told the king, that an electary made of hearts, wherein were to be ſix thouſand belonging to his ſubjects, four thouſand of white cows, and two thouſand of white doves, would protect him from the threatened danger. The king relying upon this falſe information, built a houſe, the foundations whereof, were laid upon women great with child: and on that occaſion, ſacrified no fewer than eighteen thouſand innocent perſons, with a view to preſerve his own life [p].

Marry their ſiſters.

We meet with no account of the deſcent of the kings of Arrakan; but we learn from authors, that, to preſerve the blood unmixed, they are obliged to marry their eldeſt ſiſters [q]. This monarch goes out of his palace only once in five years, when he makes a progreſs with great ſolemnity; but paſſes his life there with his queen, and a great number of concubines. Every year the ſikkes, who are his favourites, cauſe twelve of the loveliеſt maidens to be ſought for through the realm, and dreſſed in fine white linen. They are expoſed for ſix hours to the moſt violent heat of the ſun, that they may ſweat as much as poſſible. Other habits are brought them to put on, and their damp cloaths examined by perſons appointed, who make their report; and the young ladies whoſe ſweat has no diſagreeable ſmell, are preſented to the king, and placed among his concubines. The reſt are diſpoſed of, with portions, to his courtiers. All the females are taught muſic and dancing, with whatever elſe may render them agreeable, in hopes of attaining to that dignity.

Concubines how choſen.

The king's power.

The kings of Arrakan were formerly almoſt continually at war with the great Mogol; but never hazarded a pitched battle. About one hundred and fifty years ago they became famous by their wars, and much enlarged their dominions by the conqueſts they made both in Bengal and Pegu. However, it is obſerved, that they were generally unſucceſsful in their wars againſt the

[p] Ovingt. p. 579. & ſeq. [q] Toſi ap. Ovingt. p. 582. Methold ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005.

Portugueſe; who, in 1605, defeated the king's fleet, conſiſting of no fewer than five hundred and forty ſail; and not long after, he was forced three times to retire from before Siriam, now belonging to Pegu, though he attacked it with a fleet of one thouſand two hundred ſail, and an army of thirty thouſand men, accompanied with three thouſand five hundred great and ſmall cannon [r].

The Hiſtory of the Kings of Arrakan.

Kingdom of Arrakan. THE firſt account we meet with of the affairs of Arrakan is about the year 1569; at which time the king of Pegu, of the Barma or Brama race, growing very powerful, fought, by all manner of ways, to ſubdue that kingdom. But he was not able to compaſs his deſign: for, firſt, he had no fleet to tranſport an army by ſea; whereas the king of Arrakan could arm two hundred gallies in his defence: and, in caſe he ſhould invade that country by land, the inhabitants were ready, by means of ſluices, to lay it all under water, and either drown their enemies, or impede their march. However, at that time, the Portugueſe of Chatigan having ſlain the governor of that city, which belonged to Bengâl, and it being made an article of the accommodation which ſoon after took effect, that the chief commander of the Portugueſe, who had then eighteen ſhips in the port, ſhould depart the place with his veſſel, the king of Arrakan, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his neighbours, invited the captain into his dominions [s]. Thus, the Portugueſe firſt found an introduction into Arrakan; where, by degrees, they gained a conſiderable footing; which they loſt again, at length, by their inſolence and depravity.

Invaded from Pegu. Theſe Portugueſe, however, proved of great ſervice to the king of Arrakan; for, in 1581, the king of Pegu, having at length procured a fleet of one thouſand three hundred ſail, reſolved to conquer that country. With this view he ſent that formidable armament, under the command of the prince his ſon, towards the Arrakan coaſt. The prince being informed, in his paſſage, that two Portugueſe galliots had taken a ſhip of Pegu, richly laden, detached ſixteen of his beſt ſailors to attack them. The galliots received them bravely, and diſabled ſeveral of them: till ſeeing the whole fleet coming down upon

[r] Jarric. ap. Ovingt. p. 578. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1720.

[s] Cæſar Frederic ap. Purch.

them,

them, they made the beſt of their way into the bay of Arrakan [t], a circumſtance which prevented the prince from making a deſcent.

Shilini Shâh becomes maſter of Pegu.

After this event, Arrakan ſeems to have been freed from any attempts on the ſide of Pegu, whoſe arms were turned againſt other neighbouring nations. Nor did the king of Arrakan take that opportunity to attack his moſt dangerous enemy, for fear of drawing his reſentment upon him. But at length the power of Pegu having been greatly exhauſted by long wars, particularly with Siam, ſeveral of the bordering kings, taking advantage of Branjinoko's diſtreſs, entered into a league againſt him. Among the reſt Shilimi Shâh, king of Arrakan, was one. This prince, in the year 1598, laid ſiege to the city of Pegu, and was joined by the king of Tangu. But being called away for a time about ſome other affairs, he left the continuance of the ſiege to the king of Tangu; who made ſo good uſe of his time, that, before his ally returned, he had got Branjinoko, with all the royal family, into his hands, and carried off almoſt the whole treaſure of the captive prince, amounting to an immenſe value; leaving behind above three millions in ſilver, and other metals, which he thought too inconſiderable to carry away.

Shilimi Shâh, returning to Pegu, took the kingdom into his poſſeſſion, with the ſilver which the king of Tanug had left for him: but enraged to be ſo duped by his ally, who had agreed to divide the ſpoil, he ſent to demand a farther ſhare, with the white elephant, and the captive king's daughter: he likewiſe required that the king himſelf ſhould either be ſent to him, or ſlain; threatening otherwiſe to invade Tangu. To avoid this danger, his demands were complied with; and the dethroned tyrant was put to death.

How long the king of Arrakan kept poſſeſſion of this country, or whether he abandoned it of his own accord, or was forced to quit it by the king of Ava, does not appear from travellers. We meet with no account of what he did in Pegu, excepting ſo far as relates to the affairs of Sirian.

The Portugueſe favoured.

As the king of Arrakan was not acknowleged by the Peguers, who had hidden themſelves, or abandoned the country, to avoid the miſeries which the late king brought upon it, he delivered to Philip de Brito, and Nicote, the

[t] De Faria Portug. Aſia, vol. ii. p. 369, & ſeqq.

port of Sirian, in order to receive under his protection such fugitives as should be willing to return: he likewise designed thereby to reward the military services of De Brito, for whom he had a great esteem. But this upstart, who had acquired prodigious wealth, requited that prince's favours with the utmost ingratitude. He fortified Sirian against the donor; and, in the end, set up for emperor of Pegu himself.

Massacred at Dianga. Elated with his new dignity, and aiming to extend his power, he thought it would be for his advantage to be possessed of Dianga, a port of Arrakan; and although he knew how ill that potentate bore his retaining Sirian, though in another dominion, yet he had the presumption to think he would bestow Dianga upon him. With this hope, in the beginning of the year 1607, he fitted out some vessels, and sent in them his son, as ambassador, to beg that port of the king. But some Portuguese having persuaded his majesty of Arrakan that De Brito's design, by that request, was to deprive him of his kingdom, he ordered the son, with his officers, to be assassinated in his court, and the men to be massacred on board the vessels. Not content with this revenge, he, at the same time, sent a private mandate to slay all the Portuguese who were settled at Dianga. On which occasion, above six hundred of them, living quietly as good subjects, under his protection, and suspecting no danger, lost their lives. Some few escaped into the woods; and nine or ten vessels got out to sea[u].

Rise of Tibao. Among the few who escaped by sea from the above mentioned massacre at Dianga, was Sebastian Gonsales Tibao, who had just then entered the harbour, with a vessel laden with salt. He was a man of obscure extraction, born in the village of St. Anthony del Tojal, near Lisbon: in 1605, he embarked for India; and listing himself a soldier in Bengâl, began to deal in salt, which is a valuable commodity there. By this trade he soon gained as much as purchased a jaleu, a sort of small vessel; and by this purchase was enabled to carry his salt to foreign markets. This man was one of the greatest prodigies of the Portuguese fortune that Asia had produced: three years she was infested with this monster, from 1605 to 1608.

Another. Emanuel de Matto, commander of the Bandel, or port of Dianga, who died not long before the massacre,

[u] De Faria, ubi supra, vol. iii. p. 154.

had

had been lord of Sundiva, an island seventy leagues in compass, belonging to Bengâl, and not far from the coast of Arrakan. Fateh Khân, a resolute Moor, whom he had trusted with that island in his absence, hearing of De Matto's death, usurped the command; and, the better to secure himself, murdered not only all the Portuguese who were settled there, but likewise such of the natives as had embraced popery. Then, gathering Moors and Patans to his assistance, he fitted out a fleet of forty sail, which charges he supported with the revenue of the island. Sebastian Gonsales, and his companions, with the other vessels which had escaped from Dianga, being left without a head, lived by robbing in the country of Arrakan, and carried their plunder to the king of Bakala's ports, who was a friend to the Portuguese. Fateh Khân, understanding that these rovers cruised thereabouts, went out to seek them, with such assurance of success, that he carried this inscription on his colours: "Fateh Khân, by the grace of God, lord of Sundiva, shedder of Christian blood, and destroyer of the Portuguese nation [w]."

Chosen commander.

One evening he thought to surprise them, and would have certainly effected it; but they quarrelling about the division of some spoil, in a river of the island Shavaspur, Tibao left them; and happened to meet Fateh Khân's fleet, gave his companions notice of his approach. By this intimation they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, before the arrival of the enemy, who immediately fell on them. The pirates fought so desperately all night, that the morning discovered eighty Portuguese victorious over six hundred Moors, joined with Patans. Not one sail of them got away, nor a man escaped being taken or killed; among which latter was Fateh Khân. Had they been under a commander who knew how to improve a victory, the island must then have been their own. They resolved to chuse a leader; and pitched on Stephen Palmyro, a man of years and experience. But as he absolutely refused to command such wicked people, they desired him to appoint a chief, and he named Sebastian Gonsales Tibao, whom they promised punctually to obey. As soon as this point was settled, they resolved to attack Sundiva; and having gathered a number of Portuguese from Bengâl and the

[w] De Faria, ibid. p. 154, & seqq.

neigh-

neighbouring ports, Tibao applied to the king of Bakkala, agreeing to give him half the revenue of the iſland when recovered, provided he aſſiſted him to conquer it. The king, embracing this propoſal, ſent him ſome ſhips, and two hundred horſe: ſo that, in March 1609, Tibao had a fleet of forty ſhips, and four hundred Portuguſe, beſides his auxiliaries. On the other hand, Sundiva having had time to provide for its defence, was full of reſolute men. A great number of Moors, commanded by Fateh Khân's brother, received them at landing, but were forced to retire into a fort, which the Portugueſe immediately beſieged. As the place was vigorouſly defended, they not only lay long before it, without making any great progreſs, but were at laſt in danger of periſhing, not being able to come at either the ammunition or proviſion which were aboard their veſſels. From this diſtreſs they were luckily delivered by Gaſpar de Pina, a Spaniard, who coming to that port, at their requeſt, landed fifty men, whom he commanded; and marching by night with many lights, and much noiſe, made the enemy believe that he had brought a conſiderable reinforcement. As ſoon as he arrived in the camp, the fort was aſſaulted; and, being taken, above one thouſand Moors were put to the ſword. The natives of the iſland, who before had been ſubject to the Portugueſe, preſently ſubmitted; and were received to mercy, on condition that they ſhould deliver up to him all the ſtrangers who were in the iſland. On this occaſion they brought him above one thouſand Moors; and, as they appeared, he cut off their heads. Thus Tibao became maſter of Sundiva, and was obeyed as an abſolute lord, independent of any other prince [x].

Attacks and takes the iſle of Sundiva.

To recompence the principal Portugueſe, who had ſerved him on this occaſion, he gave them lands in the iſland; and then, repenting, took them away again. Inſtead of yielding to the king of Bakkala half the revenue of the iſland, as had been agreed by him, he made war upon that prince; becoming inſolent and ungrateful, as he grew in authority. He had now at his command one thouſand Portugueſe, two thouſand natives, well armed, two hundred horſe, and above eighty ſail of veſſels, with good artillery. As many merchants traded thither, he erected a cuſtom-houſe; and the neighbouring princes,

His power and arrogance.

[x] De Faria, p. 155, & ſeqq.

fur-

surprised at his prodigious success, courted his friendship. From the king of Bakkala he wrested the islands of Shavaspur, and Patelabanga; besides what he took from others: so that, he was suddenly possessed of vast riches, equal with many princes; but, like a meteor, he as suddenly disappeared.

Revolution in Arrakan.

Such was the fortune of Sebastian Gonsales in Sundiva, when there happened a difference between the prince of Arrakan and king Anaparam. The prince, finding that he could not prevail on his brother, either by intreaty or threats, to give him an elephant, to which all other elephants were said to allow a kind of superiority, raised a great army, and deprived him both of his kingdom and elephant. Anaparam fled for succour to Sebastian Gonsales, who demanded his sister as an hostage; and, having received her, set out along with him to fight the conqueror. But his small force could not prevail against an army of eighty thousand men, and seven hundred elephants. The dethroned king returned with Tibao to Sundiva, carrying over his wife and family, with his treasure and elephants. Thus he remained as a subject to this upstart lord; who baptizing the king's sister, married her; and, though so vile a wretch, pretended he did that prince a signal honour. Soon after this marriage, Anaparam died, not without strong suspicion so poison; for Gonsales seized upon all his treasure, his elephants, and effects, without any consideration for his wife and son. To stop the mouths of the people, he would have married the queen to his brother Antony Tibao, admiral of his fleet, but she never could be prevailed on to embrace a religion professed by such monsters in wickedness[y].

Tibao's treachery, and infamous action.

Sebastian afterwards waged war against the king of Arrakan, and met with great success; for his brother Anthony, with only five sail, took one hundred of that monarch's ships. This loss induced him to conclude a peace; by which he recovered his sister-in-law and brother's widow, whom he married to the king of Chatigan. At this time the Great Mogol undertook to conquer the kingdom of Balua, which lying opposite to Sundiva, the design alarmed Tibao, who therefore entered into a league with the king of Arrakan for its defence. The king took the field with eighty thousand men, most of them musketeers, ten thousand natives of Pegu, who

[y] De Faria, p. 157, & seqq.

fought

fought with ſword and buckler, beſides ſeven hundred elephants, loaded with caſtles, and armed men. He likewiſe put to ſea above two hundred ſail, carrying four thouſand ſoldiers, who were to join Sebaſtian Gonſales, and to be under his command. The agreement was, that Tibao ſhould hinder the Mogols from paſſing to the kingdom of Balua, till the king of Arrakan could march thither with his forces; and that the enemy being repulſed, Tibao ſhould have half the kingdom. The king was likewiſe to have hoſtages for his fleet: on which occaſion Sebaſtian ſent to him a nephew of his own, and the ſons of certain Portugueſe inhabitants of Sundiva.

An infamous action.

The king of Arrakan, arriving with his army, was ſurpriſed to find the Mogols already entered the kingdom of Balua: however, marching into it with his troops, he, in a ſhort time, expelled the enemy. It was thought that Tibao, corrupted by bribes, had given them a free paſſage into that country. Others ſay, he did it to revenge the death of the Portugueſe, ſlain by the king of Arrakan, at Dianga. However that be, he was guilty of execrable treachery; for, leaving the mouth of the river Dangatiar open, he gave them free entrance. His villany did not ſtop there; for, running with his fleet into a creek of the iſland Deſierta, and calling all the king of Arrakan's captains aboard his ſhip, he murdered them; then falling on the veſſels, deprived of their commanders, killed or made ſlaves of all the men. After he had committed this infamous action, and alſo taken poſſeſſion of the injured king's fleet, he returned to Sundiva. Mean while the Mogols came down again, with a greater power, and entering the kingdom of Balua, made a great ſlaughter of the Arrakan army; and reduced that king to ſuch diſtreſs, that, with much difficulty, he eſcaped upon an elephant, and came almoſt alone to the fort of Chatigan [z].

Ravages the coaſt.

Tibao, being informed of all theſe tranſactions, ſailed with his fleet, and ravaged all the coaſt of Arrakan, plundering and deſtroying all the forts which lie along it; and which, confiding in the peace, were then unprovided. He had the arrogance to advance up to the very city of Arrakan, where he burnt many merchant-ſhips of ſeveral nations; among the reſt was one which the king kept

[z] De Faria, p. 159, & ſeqq.

in

in that port to take his pleasure in, and whose loss he greatly lamented. It was a vessel of a vast size, and surprising workmanship, with several apartments, like a palace, all covered with gold and ivory. The king, provoked at the insolence and treachery of Gonsales, who seemed to have forgotten that his nephew was in hostage, resolved to put him in mind of this circumstance; and causing a stake to be driven through his body, set it up on an eminence, below the port of Arrakan, that his uncle might see him as he went out to sea; but he, who had no honour, valued not at whose cost he advanced his own interest. Nevertheless, the guilt of so many villainies began to touch his conscience; and he returned to Sundiva, with an apprehension that some heavy punishment would soon fall upon him for his crimes [a].

His nephew impaled.

This base upstart, who, in his prosperity, never regarded the viceroy, now seeing the danger that invironed him, applied to him for succour; proposing to become tributary to Portugal, with the acknowlegement of a galleon, loaden with rice, to be delivered yearly, either at Goa, or Malakka. He pretended, that what he had done was solely to revenge the murder of the Portuguese at Dianga; and concluded with a hint, that it would be no difficult matter to seize the vast treasure of the Arrakan king. This bait had the desired effect; so that the viceroy instead of renouncing such an execrable villain, resolved to assist him, contrary to all laws both human and divine. For this expedition were fitted out fourteen of the largest galliots, one fly-boat, and a pink, under the command of Don Francisco de Menesses Rexo, who had been governor of Seylân, or Ceylon. As his instructions were that he should enter the kingdom of Arrakan, without waiting for Tibao, he only sent him notice of his coming, when he arrived on that coast; and proceeded directly for the city of Arrakan, which is the chief port, as well as residence, of the king.

Sends for succours;

He arrived the 3d of October; and, in the morning of the 15th, discovered a very numerous fleet coming down the river, with a Dutch pink at the head of them. Other vessels were likewise commanded, and reinforced by Hollanders. On the other hand, Don Francisco had now with him no more than twelve small ships; for the pink was sent in pursuit of a vessel which had fled; one galliot was gone to fetch back the pink, and another to Sundiva,

A.D. 1615.

which are defeated;

[a] De Faria, p. 161.

to

to carry the advice. Nevertheleſs the Portugueſe advanced, without any dread of that formidable armament. The Dutch pink fired the firſt gun, and then began a furious battle. Four galliots, which got before the reſt, had their captains and many ſoldiers killed, before the remaining eight came up; which engaged ſo deſperately, that ſeveral veſſels of the enemy were overſet by the great quantity of ſail they hoiſted to accelerate their flight. In the evening they drew off, on ſight of the galliot which went to ſeek the pink; ſuppoſing that ſome relief was coming to the Portugueſe; who, among the ſlain, loſt twenty-five men of rank [b].

and himſelf reduced to his former condition.

Don Franciſco, now reſolving to wait for Tibao, fell down to the mouth of the river; whither, at length, the other arrived, with fifty ſail, well manned and equipped. When he heard what had been done, he railed at the viceroy for giving ſuch orders, and againſt Don Francis for obeying them. Then dividing the ſhips into two equal ſquadrons, they ſailed up the river, and fell upon the enemy on both ſides, firing upon the veſſels in reach, none of which advanced. All the while the king, from the ſhore, encouraged his people; and cauſed the heads of ſome who fled to be cut off. Soon after, a great part of that vaſt fleet bore down upon the Portugueſe, divided into three ſquadrons. Tibao put to flight thoſe who attacked him; and the pink had the ſame ſucceſs againſt the Hollanders; while Don Franciſco acted bravely alſo on his ſide. In ſhort, the advantage was viſibly in favour of the invaders till ſun-ſet, when that admiral was killed by two muſket-balls, one of which took place in the forehead, the other in the left eye. Tibao, diſcouraged by the ſignal made of this misfortune, ceaſed to follow his good fortune; and the tide beginning to ebb, the fleets parted. One galliot was taken by the enemy, and all the men ſlain; beſides two hundred more, whoſe bodies were ſwallowed in the ſea, at the mouth of the river. When they returned to Sundiva, the vice-admiral, Don Lewis de Azevedo, who ſucceeded Don Franciſco in the command, ſet ſail for Goa; notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of Tiboa who ſtrove to detain him for his own ſecurity. In fine, being thus left in a defenceleſs ſtate, he was in a little time attacked by the king of Arrakan, who took the iſland, and reduced him to his former miſerable condition.

A.D. 1616.

[b] De Faria, p. 225, & ſeqq.

The

The Portugueſe, thus humbled, applied to the king for pardon, who, notwithſtanding the many provocations received from them, was inclined to hearken to their petition; knowing that it would be in their power to do him greater miſchief, in caſe they ſhould join ſome of the neighbouring powers. To prevent this defection therefore, and at the ſame time ſecure his frontiers againſt the Great Mogol, his moſt formidable enemy, who was now become his next neighbour, by the conqueſt of Balua, he ſettled them in the port of Chatigan, giving them lands, and liberty to live as they pleaſed; in other words to exerciſe robbery and piracy [c].

A.D. 1667. *The Portugueſe revolt to the Mogol.*

They continued plundering and mal-treating all who came in their way, till about the year 1667; when, having murdered one of the king of Arrakan's chief officers, and fearing to be puniſhed for that, as well as other crimes, they one day ſhipped themſelves, in forty or fifty of their gallcaſſes, and went over to Shâh Heſt Khân, who was then in Bengâl, and had invited them to join him againſt the king of Arrakan, whoſe dominions he had orders to attack. By their aſſiſtance he took Sundiva from that Indian potentate; and having thus rendered them irreconcilable to their former maſter, treated them with contempt.

State of Arrakan in great confuſion.

The deſign of Shâh Heſt Khân's invading Arrakan was to revenge the blood of Soltân Sujâh, and his family, who had been deſtroyed by the king, in order to ſeize his riches. The king thought that all belonged to him; thoſe who fought for it claimed a ſhare; and the princes of the blood wanted ſome large diamonds for their wives; but the artful prieſts found a way to make up the difference, by perſuading the king, and the other pretenders, to dedicate the whole treaſure to the god Dagun. This meaſure being agreed to, the jewels were depoſited in the temple of that deity, where they continued till the year 1690; when the king of Arrakan dying without iſſue, two princes of the blood quarrelled about the ſucceſſion. They both took arms, and both had an eye upon Soltân Sujâh's treaſure; which ſo intimidated the clergy, that they removed it to another place, known only to themſelves. Mean while the two princes purſued their pretenſions ſo furiouſly, that, in one year, both themſelves and families were entirely cut off; and the kingdom was involved in anarchy [d].

[c] De Faria, p. 227, & ſeq. Bernier, ubi ſupra, p. 120. [d] Hamilt. New Account of Eaſt Ind. vol. ii. p. 28.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of Pegu.

Geographical Deſcription.

Pegu Proper. THE kingdom of Pegu is to be conſidered in three different capacities: 1. Pegu, properly ſo called: 2. Pegu, with its acquiſitions: 3. Pegu, incorporated with the kingdom of Ava.

Bounds and extent. The kingdom of Pegu, properly ſo called, is bounded on the north with thoſe of Arrakan, and Ava; on the eaſt, with the Upper and Lower Siam; on the ſouth, with part of Siam and the ſea; and on the weſt, with the ſea and part of Arrakan; lying between the 110th and 116th degrees of longitude, and between the 14th and 19th degrees of north latitude; ſo that it extends about three hundred and fifty Engliſh miles in length, from ſouth to north, and nearly the ſame in breadth, from weſt to eaſt.

Pegu at large. Pegu, conſidered in a larger ſenſe, as augmented by the conqueſts of its Barma kings, extended northward as far as the borders of the province of Yun-nan, in China, compriſing the countries of Arrakan, Ava, Jangoma, the Laos, and even Siam; ſo that its bounds and extent were nearly equal with thoſe of the Farther Peninſula of India in general. As to Pegu, in its third, that is, its preſent ſtate, in which it ſtands incorporated with Ava, we ſhall refer the conſideration of it till we come to treat of Ava; only obſerving here in general, that its bounds and extent are nearly the ſame with thoſe which it had in conjunction with its acquiſitions: or, what is the ſame thing, they are both the ſame dominion, only it has changed its name from Pegu to Ava, on account of the royal ſeat's being removed from one city to the other. And here it muſt be obſerved, with regard to the name of this country, that, we are told, it is not properly Pegu, but Bagou [c].

Mountains and rivers. Pegu ſeems to be a level country, without any conſiderable mountains, excepting thoſe before mentioned, which ſurround it, and ſerve for a frontier towards the land; but it is liable to be invaded, not only by ſea, but alſo by land, by means of the rivers which make their paſſage through thoſe mountains. Among theſe, two are moſt re-

[c] See De Faria, Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 117. 127.

markable;

markable; the first, the river of Pegu; the second, the river of Ava, so called from those capitals, which are situate on their banks. The river Ava we shall speak of when we come to treat of Ava. The other, which is very large, and carries a strong current to the sea, seems to have its rise in the mountains, which divide China, on the west side of Yun-nan, from the countries included by us in the Farther Peninsula of India. From thence it shapes its course south, inclining to the west, through countries whose names are unknown to us, but once comprehended within the empire of Pegu, as they at present belong to that of Ava. At length having washed the borders of Jangoma, which lies to the north of Siam, it enters the kingdom of Pegu; and, having passed to the west of the capital, falls into the sea, about thirty miles below it.

River of Pegu annually overflows.

This river, by its annual overflowings, brings such advantage to the country, that it is not unfitly termed, by Maffi [f], the Indian Nile. These inundations are almost incredible, extending above thirty leagues beyond its channel. By the mud or slime which is left behind, the soil is so enriched, and their crops of rice increased to such a degree, that a hundred ship-loads have been exported in one year, without being missed [g].

River of Negrais.

There are two ways by which goods may be conveyed from the port of Negrais to the river of Pegu; one is by long sea, the other by the intervention of rivers from the bar of Negrais: the distance either way from that bar is fifty or fifty-five leagues; but by reason of the shoalings along the coast, the first way is usually taken. This passage is formed by several large islands, which lie near one another, and leave a channel between them and the main land, like that of a great river, into which several rivers out of Pegu discharge their waters, while the sea flowing in by the openings between the islands, a sufficient quantity of water is always found in the aforesaid channel, to carry large barks for conveying passengers and goods from the bar of Negrais to the city of Pegu.

Cities upon it.

Along this channel are a considerable number of cities, towns, and villages, as well on the land-side, as that of the islands. Amongst the rest are the cities of Kosmi (or Kosmin), Koylan, Tavagnedun (or Medun), Leungon, Silvansedi, Mojja, Dala (or Dolla), China-Bakkar, Dogun (or Dagon), and Sirian [h]. This channel, which may be

[f] Maff. Hist. lib. xvi. cap 5.
[g] Ovingt. p. 585. Barbosa.
[h] See Balbi & Fitch.

called the river of Negrais, has three mouths or openings between the iſlands to the ſea, at Dolla, China-Bakkar, and Sirian.

Surpriſing tide. The coaſt from Negrais, running eaſtward to the true river of Pegu, and thence ſouthward toward Tenaſſerin, forms a great bay, where the ſea runs with incredible violence and ſwiftneſs into the mouth of that river; for on the return of the tide a body of waters, above twelve feet high, comes rolling in, and bears down whatever ſtands in its way, ſo that no ſhip can withſtand its force, but in a moment is overturned. This furious tide, which the natives call makkrea, advances with ſo great a roaring, that the noiſe may be heard at the diſtance of ten miles [i].

Soil and produce. The air of Pegu is very healthy; the ſoil very rich and fertile in corn, fruit, and roots; it likewiſe produces good timber of ſeveral kinds. The country abounds with elephants, buffaloes, goats, hogs, and other animals; here is abundance of wild game, and deer in ſuch plenty in September and October, that a whole carcaſe may be bought for three or four pence; they are very fleſhy, but have no fat. Poultry is good and plenty; the cocks are vaſtly large, and hens very beautiful. There are many ſorts of good fiſh [k].

There are in Pegu mines not only of iron, tin, and ganſa, or lead (A), which paſſes for money, but alſo of rubies, diamonds, and ſapphires. The rubies are the beſt in the world; but the diamonds are ſmall, and only found in the craws of poultry and pheaſants. Beſides, only one family has the privilege of ſelling them, and none dare open the ground to dig for them [l].

Provinces. Pegu is doubtleſs divided into provinces like other countries; but travellers have mentioned none. However, we may conſider as ſuch the ſeveral petty kingdoms or ſtates which had been conquered by the kings of Pegu, ſuch as thoſe of Tava, Tangu, and Kablan (or Kapelan). This laſt, we are told, was one of the twelve conquered by the ſecond Barma king, Chaumigrem, who began his reign about the year 1549. It is accounted the moſt barren part of all Pegu. The chief city is of the ſame name: here the true rubies, for which Pegu is famous, are found

[i] Hamilt. ubi ſup. p. 32. [k] Tavern. Trav. part ii. p. 144. Ovingt. p. 585.

(A) Rather a kind of copper, or mixture of copper and lead.

in

in a mountain not far from it, ſtanding between the city of Pegu, and port of Sirian [m].

The kingdom of Tangu is frequently mentioned by the authors who have written about the affairs of Pegu, but none of them ſays any thing preciſely concerning its ſituation, excepting Mendez Pinto, who informs us, that it lies a hundred and ſixty leagues from the city Pegu, in the heart of the country [n]. With this agree the few hints we have from other writers, only the diſtance ſeems abundantly too great. Hence we conceive it to be ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river Pegu, between the kingdoms of Jangoma on the north, and Siam on the ſouth. *Tangu kingdom.*

However that be, Tangu was formerly a very remarkable place. It is ſaid by ſome, that the firſt Barma king of Pegu was governor of it, and that the ſecond was born there. As this country was upon the frontiers towards Siam and Jangoma, its dependent kings were ready always to revolt, or give diſturbance to the Pegu monarch. At length we find one of them, in the year 1598, joined in confederacy with the prince of Arrakan, to conquer that country, a ſcheme which they effected. The king of Tangu, after having put to death his ſovereign, who had ſurrendered to him, carried off all the treaſure of Pegu, and left the ruined kingdom to the king of Arrakan; but his independency did not continue long, for he was overcome and rendered tributary about 1612, by the king of Ava, or perhaps rather the king of Pegu, who had tranſferred the regal ſeat to Ava. *Its hiſtory.*

The city of Pegu (B), in the year 1600, was one of the moſt ſplendid, large, and populous in all Aſia. According to Cæſar Frederic, Balbi, and Fitch, who ſaw this city in its greateſt ſplendor (C), it was very ſpacious, fair, and ſtrong, ſurrounded with ſtone walls, and very wide ditches. It was divided into two cities, the old and new; in the old lived the merchants and ſtrangers, and as the houſes were only built with wood, or bambû canes, covered with tiles, each had a ware-houſe of brick arched, to ſecure the goods from fires, which were very frequent there. The new city, inhabited by the king, the nobility, and people of faſhion, was very extenſive and populous; its fi- *City of Pegu.*

[m] Fitch ap. Purch. vol. ii. p. 1741. [n] Pinto's Trav. p. 288.

(B) The true name of the city, as well as country, is Bagou; but Floris calls it Uncha, or Pegu. See his voyage. New Collect. Voy. and Trav. 4to, vol. i. p. 539.

(C) The firſt, in 1566, and the two latter in 1633.

gure ſquare, and in each ſide of the wall were five gates of ſtone, with many gilded towers along it for poſting centries. It was encompaſſed with broad ditches, in which were bred crocodiles, to deter people from wading over them. The ſtreets the moſt regular that ever Fitch ſaw, running in a line from gate to gate, and ſo wide, that twelve men might go a-breaſt. Each houſe had a palm-tree growing at the door, which formed a ſhade for paſſengers.

King's palace. The king's palace ſtood in the midſt of this new city, built like a fortreſs with walls and ditches. The houſes and apartments within were of wood, all over gilded, and adorned with battlements covered with plates of gold. Within the gate was a ſpacious court, with lodgings on the ſides for the king's choiceſt elephants, amongſt which were four of a white colour. That prince would not ſuffer any other to have white elephants: it was on this account only that he made war on the king of Siam, in 1567, from whom he took the famous white elephant; and afterwards aſſumed the title of King of the White Elephant (D). Near the palace was a large court ſurrounded with ſtone walls, and its two gates were always open, ſeemingly regardleſs of the immenſe treaſure within. This was lodged in four gilded houſes, covered with lead; in the firſt was a vaſt gold ſtatue of a man, with a crown of gold beſet with rubies and ſapphires, and about him four children of gold. In the ſecond houſe was a ſilver ſtatue, ſitting on heaps of treaſure, yet his head reached as high as any houſe, and his foot was equal in length to the height of an ordinary man. The third houſe had in it a ſtatue of braſs, of the ſame magnitude; and the fourth contained another of the ſame ſize, made of ganſa, which is a mixture of copper and lead; theſe three ſtatues had crowns like the firſt.

Huge ſtatues.

Elephant hunting. Within a mile of the city was a beautiful palace all gilded, with a large court before it, containing an infinite number of places for people to ſtand and ſee the hunting

(D) The white elephant is not eſteemed in theſe parts on account of the ſcarcity of thoſe animals, but becauſe the mother of Shekya (as the Chineſe call him), founder of the idolatry of Tibet, whence that throughout the Indies is derived, dreamed that a white elephant, entering her mouth, paſſed down her throat, and came out of her ſide. See Marini Hiſt. de Tonquin & Lao; alſo New Collection of Voyages and Travels in 4to. vol. iv. p. 207.

of

of elephants in the neighbouring foreſt, of vaſt extent; which being driven out of the wood by the hunters, were decoyed by tame elephants into an incloſure made for the purpoſe, where they were taken and tamed [o].

The new city, with the palace and all its ornaments, were the work of the ſecond Barma king of Pegu, the greateſt of all its monarchs. It was finiſhed about the year 1567. Whether it received any improvements from his ſucceſſor, does not appear; but this we know, that in his reign it was ſtripped of all its luſtre, and reduced to a miſerable condition: for the third and laſt king of that race in Pegu having, by his exceſſive tyranny and continual wars, exhauſted his dominions of people, the neighbouring princes invaded his territories. In 1596 the king of Siam beſieged him in his capital for three months; but for this time he was relieved by the aſſiſtance of a body of Turks, in conjunction with ſome Portugueſe. However, moſt of thoſe whom war had ſpared, famine deſtroyed; for out of a hundred and fifty thouſand men, numbered in the city before the ſiege, only thirty thouſand were left, with three thouſand cannon, a thouſand of them braſs, for its defence. The kings of Arrakan and Tangu, taking advantage of this diſtreſſed condition of Pegu, marched to beſiege it again; and the king being at length obliged to ſubmit for want of proviſions ſome time in the year 1599, yielded himſelf and the city into the hands of the king of Tangu, whoſe wife, though ſiſter to the unfortunate prince, cauſed him and his family to be put to death [p]. *The city deſtroyed.*

From that time Pegu ceaſed to be the royal ſeat, and fell to decay; ſo that, although ſix or ſeven leagues in compaſs, not one twentieth part of it is now inhabited, and that only by the lower claſs of people [q]. However, it is ſtill the ſeat of the viceroy, who governs for the king, reſiding now at Ava. *Royal ſeat removed.*

Travellers have given no account of the inland cities of Pegu; our readers muſt therefore be content with what they relate concerning ſome of its maritime towns.

The firſt which occurs on the weſt ſide of the river of Pegu, towards its mouth, is Sirian. This is the only port now open for trade in all that country. It is ſituated near the mouth of the river of the ſame name, which commu- *City of Sirian.*

[o] Cæſ. Freder. apud Hakl. vol. ii. p. 231. Balbi, p. 100, & ſeq.
[p] Pimenta apud Purch. vol. ii p. 1747. Boues, p. 1748. Floris, vol. i. p. 322. [q] Hamilt. New Acc. Eaſt. Ind. vol. ii. p. 33.

nicates with the channel coming from the bar of Negrais; the ruins of its walls and bulwarks ſhew it to have been a very ſtrong place. On the news of its reduction the emperor poiſoned himſelf, and the conqueror carried the reſt of his family, with all his treaſures, to Pegu[r]. At preſent, it is encloſed with a ſtone wall, built near the river-ſide on a riſing-ground. The governor is generally of the blood-royal, and the ſuburbs are four times larger than the city. The port is frequented by ſhips from ſeveral parts of India, the river being capable of receiving veſſels of ſix hundred tons; it is frequented by ſome Engliſh, Portugueſe, and Armenians, which latter have monopolized the ruby trade.

The makkrea, or tide.

If by accident a ſhip be driven a league or two to the eaſtward of Sirian bar, a ſtrong tide carries her on hard ſands, for anchors cannot ſtop her career. There ſhe ſticks faſt; but being left dry at low water by the ſea, which retires five or ſix leagues, the ſailors have time to croſs the ſands to ſhore; for the makkrea, or tide, returns with ſuch violence, as hath been obſerved before, that no veſſel can withſtand its force. Sirian ſtands about ſix leagues from the bar of Pegu river, and forty miles from the city of Pegu itſelf[s]. But as the violent tides above mentioned render the navigation thither dangerous, ſo goods are commonly landed at Sirian, and carried from thence, by the inland channel before deſcribed, as far as a place called Makkao, where they are again put on ſhore, and conveyed by land to the city of Pegu, which is twelve miles diſtant.

Temples of Kiakkiak, and of Dagun.

In the neighbourhood of Sirian ſtand the two moſt remarkable pagods in all the dominions of the Peguan, or Avan empire. One is about ſix miles to the ſouthward, called Kiakkiak, or the *Temple of the God of Gods*; and, as it is built in a high champaign country, it may be ſeen eight leagues off. Within it is an image twenty yards long, lying in a ſleeping poſture; and by the tradition of the natives, has lain in that poſture above ſix thouſand years. His doors and windows are always open, every body having the liberty to ſee him, and when he awakes the world is to be annihilated. The other temple ſtands in a low plain to the north of Sirian, about the ſame diſtance, and is called Dagun. His doors and windows are always ſhut, nor do any enter but his prieſts, who will

[r] Balbi, p. 97. De Faria, Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 127. [s] Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 32.

not

not tell what shape he is of, farther than that he is not of the human form. As soon as Kiakkiak has destroyed this earth, Dagon, or Dagun, will gather up the fragments and make a new world. There are yearly fairs held near these temples, and the offerings made at them are for the use of those holy places[t].

To the westward of Sirian, on the same coast, about forty-five leagues distant, is Kosmî, or Kosmîn, formerly a place of great resort for Indian shipping, which here landed their goods to be conveyed in paros, a kind of barges, or large boats, by the inland channel, to Pegu. This is a very handsome town, delightfully situated, facing the north-east; but as the neighbouring country is full of woods, infested with tigers, wild boars, and monkies, the inhabitants raise their houses, built with bamboos, on piles, several feet above the ground, to avoid those animals, especially the tigers, who frequently in the night enter the town and carry off both men and cattle[u]. There is no other port betwixt Kosmîn and that called Negrais, in the smaller island of this name; for there are two, one very large to the north and west; the other not above three leagues long, which lies at the mouth of the river Negrais, along which goods are conveyed to Sirian and Pegu. *City of Kosmin.*

Off this southern coast of Pegu lie several islands; as 1. The Cocos, so called from its being full of cocoa-nut trees, about twenty leagues west-south-west from cape Negrais. 2. The Perperies, thirty-six leagues south of the same cape. They are high islands, overgrown with woods, and surrounded with sunken rocks. 3. Kommoda, a small island about ten leagues from the coast. All the above mentioned isles are uninhabited. *Isles off the coast.*

The eastern coast of Pegu has several ports upon it. The first is Martabân, or Martavân; it lies about a hundred miles to the south of the city of Pegu, the way by land being mostly through woods and plains. It was formerly capital of a rich and pretty powerful kindom, before the Pegu monarchs began to entend their dominions under the Barma kings; but the first of this race having conquered Pegu, fell next on Martavân in 1545, with a vast army, and, having compelled its king Chambayna to surrender himself, put him, his queen, and all her women, to most cruel deaths; after which he plundered and *Martavân city.*

[t] Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 57, & seq. [u] Balbi, p. 95. Fitch, apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1739.

ruined the city. He likewiſe cauſed ſhips to be ſunk in the river to hinder the navigation of it, in which condition it ſtill continues: yet a trade is carried on for fiſh and earthen-ware; eſpecially thoſe large jars for holding wine or water, in great requeſt all over the Indies; ſome are ſo large as to hold the quantity of two hogſheads [w].

After the deſtruction of Pegu in 1600, the king of Siam took Martavan, and laid it waſte: however, it ſoon recovered, and had a king of its own about 1604; to whoſe daughter the famous De Brito and Nicote, the Portugueſe king of Pegu, married his eldeſt ſon; but after the king of Ava had taken Sirian, and impaled the mock king, he obliged the king of Martavân to put his ſon-in-law to death in 1614.

Tavay, former town.

Pegu extends ſouthward as far as Tavay, a town and iſland in the gulf of the ſame name. It was formerly capital of a petty kingdom, which was conquered by the king of Ava, or of Pegu, removed to Ava, in the year laſt above mentioned [x]. Plenty of kalain, or kalaia wood grows there.

In the hiſtory of thoſe times we frequently meet with a city called Satan, or Zatan, but nothing which gives any light as to its ſituation; only it is ſaid, that the king of Siam advanced ſo far in the year 1583.

Inhabitants of Pegu; their Cuſtoms, Religion, and Government.

Inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of Pegu are a mixture of natives, whom ſome authors term Peguers, and Barmas, by many called Bramas, who conquered them, and are at preſent maſters of the country; they are diſtinguiſhed not only by their features but their dreſs.

Shape and features.

With regard to their perſons there is a great diſagreement among authors. Some ſay the men are very ugly, others, that they are well-ſhaped and featured [y]; ſome, that they are monſtrous fat [z]; others, that they are plump, but few of them fat; they are of an olive complexion, or, as others expreſs it, are rather tawny than black, like the people of Arrakan [a]. They wear no beards, but pull out the hairs with pincers. They have naturally very white

[w] De Faria, vol. iii. p. 348. Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 39. 62. [x] Balbi, ubi ſupra, p. 120. [y] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 49. [z] Balbi, p. 106. [a] Sheldon, apud Ovingt. Voy. to Surat, p. 589.

techt,

teeth, but make them black, that they may not appear white like thoſe of dogs [b].

Some give the people of Pegu a very good character, as being of a mild, humane, and very charitable diſpoſition; while others repreſent them to be the moſt corrupt in their manners of all the Indian nations. They particularly brand the women as having ſhaken off all modeſty, on account of their dreſs, expoſing ſome parts of their bodies which ought to be concealed from ſight [c]. The females are much whiter than the men, low of ſtature, but well-ſhaped; their faces pretty plump; their arms and legs well proportioned; their hands and feet ſmall [d]. *Character.*

The dreſs of the men conſiſts of a coat or frock of painted callico, girt with a lungee, or ſcarf, about the middle, and falling down as low as their feet, which are bare; for neither ſtockings nor ſhoes are worn in Pegu. The habit of the women is very ſingular: their black hair is tied up behind; and when they go abroad they wear a ſhawl folded up, or a piece of white cotton cloth lying looſe on the top of the head. Their raiment is firſt a frock of ſilk, or callico, fitted to their bodies, and the ſleeves made very tight to the arms; this frock reaches half-way down the thighs, and under it they have a ſcarf, or lungee, four-double, which is made faſt round the waiſt, and deſcends almoſt to the ancle; ſo contrived, that at every ſtep as they walk, it opens before and ſhews the right leg, with part of the thigh [e]. Some travellers go farther, and ſay the women go naked, with only a cloth before, which, as they walk, opens and ſhews what modeſty ſhould conceal; but this faſhion was impoſed on them by a certain queen, in order, by that expedient, to reform the inclinations of the men, then ſtrangely addicted to unnatural vices. *Dreſs of the men and women.*

This neglect of women had ſo far put a ſtop to propagation, that Pegu, by degrees, became very thin of inhabitants. The queen, therefore, effectually to prevent that flagitious crime which occaſioned it, introduced another ſtill more extraordinary cuſtom; for ſhe made a law that the males, as ſoon as they arrived at a certain age, ſhould have balls or bells, inſerted one on each ſide of the glans penis. Theſe balls or bells are round, and of divers metals, as gold, ſilver, braſs, or lead, according to the degree of the perſon who wears them; the coſtlier ſort being for the king and his nobles, for all, it ſeems, are *Odd cuſtom of wearing bells in thoſe countries.*

[b] Fitch, apud Purch. ubi ſupra, vol. ii. p. 1741. [c] Sheldon, ub ſupra. [d] Hamilt. vol. ii p. 49. [e] Balbi, p. 107. Fitch, apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1741.

obliged

obliged to obey this law, which, in appearance, muſt be no leſs grievous than that of circumciſion.

Both the men and women, we are told, are delighted with theſe bells, which have a ſweet ſound. They are ſold by old women, who ſeem to be the operators for furniſhing the male ſex with theſe ornaments. Linſchoten brought one of them with him from the Indies to Holland; and deſcribes a ſtrange operation practiſed on the females (E) when young [f].

After ſo many credible teſtimonies relating to this matter, it might ſeem unreaſonable to doubt the truth of it; and yet neither captain Hamilton, who was at Pegu about the beginning of the preſent century, nor Mr. Sheldon, who wrote an account of Pegu about the year 1685, mention any thing of theſe bells, although they ſpeak of the peculiarity of the women's dreſs. Poſſibly, the cauſe being at length removed, that painful cuſtom has been aboliſhed; although, to prevent a relapſe, the looſe dreſs of the women is ſtill kept up as a provocative.

Barmas, how dreſſed.

The dreſs of the Barmas differs ſomewhat from that of the Peguers. Their coat is a thin betella, ſo that their ſkin may be ſeen through it. About their loins they have a large lungee, which reaches to their ancles, and is gathered at the navel in a round bundle as big as a child's head. They imprint ſeveral devices in their ſkins, which, for that purpoſe, they prick with bodkins, and rubbing charcoal duſt over the punctures while freſh, the black marks remain ever after. This is an ornament appropriated to themſelves, and which the Peguers dare not aſſume; ſo that the people of one nation may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the other.

People's diet.

The inhabitants of Pegu are accuſed by ſome authors of being ſlovenly in their houſes and naſty in their diet, on account of ſeaſoning their victuals with ſidol, made of ſtinking fiſh, in the ſame manner as practiſed in Arrakan, ſo nauſeous and offenſive, that none but themſelves can endure the ſmell of it [g]. The people of Pegu have plenty of excellent proviſions, both of quadrupeds and fowls,

[f] Balbi, p. 126. Fitch, ubi ſupra, p. 1741. Linſchot. p. 29.
[g] Toſſi, lib. ii. p. 69. apud Ovingt. p. 590.

(E) Viz. That their parents ſow up their private parts, leaving only a ſmall orifice, which is enlarged by a ſurgeon at the time of marriage. Linſchoten ſaw one of thoſe women; and had the fact confirmed by the ſurgeon who performed the operation.

wild

wild and tame, as well as of fiſh. As they have no wheat in the country, their bread is rice made into cakes. Their common drink is water, nor have they any wine; but inſtead of that liquor uſe the juice drawn by inciſion from a tree which they call annipa (F); a liquor very pleaſant to the palate. By way of regale they chew betel, like all the reſt of the Indians in both Peninſulas.

Their marriages.

The men here, as in moſt other eaſtern countries, buy their wives, or pay their parents a dowry for them. If, after cohabiting with his wife for a time, the huſband diſlikes either her perſon or temper, he has liberty to repudiate, and ſend her home again. On the other ſide, if either the woman, or her friends, diſlike the man, they may take her away from him; but, in that caſe muſt return the dowry [h].

Some, for a time.

They have an odd cuſtom in Pegu, which is to offer their daughters to ſtrangers, and lend them out for a time. Some ſay they diſpoſe of their wives in the ſame manner. Theſe marriages for a term are well regulated, and often prove very beneficial to the occaſional huſband. The women are very courteous and kind to ſtrangers in general, but very fond of marrying with Europeans; and moſt of the foreigners who go thither marry a wife for the time of their ſtay.

Convenience of ſuch temporary wives.

Theſe wives prove very obliging and obedient; they take the management of the houſe upon them, go to market, dreſs the victuals, and take care of their huſband's cloaths. In caſe the man has any commodities to ſell, the wife ſets up a ſhop, and diſpoſes of them by retail to much better account than they could be ſold for by wholeſale. Some of them carry goods into the inland towns, and barter for ſuch as are proper for the foreign markets to which her huſband is bound. If ſhe be convicted of inconſtancy her huſband may carry her to the rounday, or court-houſe, where, having her hair cut off, he may ſell her for a ſlave. On the other hand, in caſe he goes aſtray, ſhe will be apt to revenge herſelf by poiſon. In caſe of ſeparation the father is obliged to take care of the boys, and the mother of the girls; but the children cannot be carried out of the

[h] Balbi, p. 127.

(F) Some call it nipa, or niper wine; the beſt is made at Tanaſſerin, a port belonging to Siam, to the ſouth of Martavân. It is diſtilled from cocoa-nut water. See Cæſar Frederic ap. Hackluyt's Voy. part ii. p. 231. and Linſchot, p. 30.

country

country without the king's permiſſion; which yet may be purchaſed for forty or fifty pounds. The marriage may be continued even in the huſband's abſence in other countries, provided he leaves a fund to pay his wife about ſix ſhillings and eight pence a month; otherwiſe, at the year's end, ſhe may marry again; but if the ſaid ſum be paid her, ſhe is obliged to ſtay the term of three years [i]. Nor is a woman looked on the worſe, but rather the better, for having had ſeveral European huſbands [k]. Nay, we are told, that no perſon of faſhion in Pegu, from the gentleman to the king, will marry a maiden till ſome acqaiuntance, or ſtranger, has had the firſt night's lodging with her [l].

Inheritances. In Pegu the inheritance of all lands is veſted in the king: he is likewiſe the heir of all his ſubjects who die without iſſue; but in caſe they have children, two thirds go to them, and the reſt to his majeſty.

Diſeaſes. The air of Pegu is ſo healthy, that it is not afflicted with many diſeaſes, which other countries are ſubject to. However, the ſmall-pox is dreaded through all the provinces, but chiefly in that of Kirian, where it makes great ravages, and is conſidered as peſtiferous.

Phyſicians. Among the Peguers the prieſts are their principal phyſicians: however, we are told, that when any perſon falls ſick, he makes a vow to the devil, from whom they believe all evil comes. Then a ſcaffold is built, and victuals are ſpread on the top of it, to regale his infernal majeſty, and render him propitious. This feaſt is accompanied with lighted candles and muſic. The whole is managed by an undertaker, called the devil's father; and although their prieſts forbid ſuch practices, yet the people are too fond of this ancient cuſtom to obey their commands [m].

Commerce. We have already given a general view of the trade of Pegu, in treating of Sirian, which is its only port at preſent. The commodities exported from thence are gold, ſilver, rubies, muſk, benjamin, long-pepper, tin, lead, copper, lakka or gumlack, whereof they make hard wax, rice, rice-wine, and ſome ſugar-canes. The true ruby is found in the mountains of Kapelan, or Kablan; and in thoſe which ſtretch from Pegu to Kamboja [n].

They wear none of our European commodities in Pegu, but hats and ribbons. The gentry will give extravagant prices for fine beaver hats, which they wear without any cocks. They are no leſs fond of ribbons, flowered with

[i] Balbi, p. 127. Hamilt. p. 51. [k] Ovingt. p. 591. [l] Linſchot. p. 29. [m] Balbi, p. 124. [n] Ovingt. p. 585.

gold

gold and silver, which they wear round their hats at full breadth, be they ever so broad [o].

Religion of Pegu.

THE religion of Pegu is the same, in general, with that which prevails over the rest of India and Tibet. They hold the existence of one supreme God, the Creator of all things, of whom they make no image; and the worship of him is monopolized by the priests, the people not being thought worthy of paying their homage to so exalted a Being. For this reason other inferior and created gods are set apart for them; the chief of whom are, Somma Kuddom, Samsay, and Prawpout, whose images are erected in their baws, or temples, for the laity to worship [p]. Not content with these, and many more subaltern gods, we are told they worship the devil also. Many are seen to run about the streets every morning, with rice in one hand, and a torch in the other, crying aloud, that they go to give the devil his breakfast, that he might not hurt them all the day. Others, before they eat, throw part of their meat over their shoulder to feed him. At Tavay they fill their houses with provisions, and then leave them for three months, for the devils to come and revel there; in expectation that they will be propitious to them all the rest of the year [q].

One supreme being.

Many inferior gods.

Besides the Manichean doctrine of two principles, one the author of good, the other of evil, from whence their worshiping the devil has its rise, they believe an eternal succession of worlds, without creation; and a multiplicity of gods to govern them.

Succession of worlds.

The Peguers hold the doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the human soul, which, after passing through the bodies of various animals, shall attain to the perfections and felicity of their gods: which, in effect, is no other than a state of annihilation.

Transmigration of souls.

They have a strong opinion of the sanctity of apes and crocodiles; insomuch that they believe the persons to be perfectly happy, who chance to be devoured by them [r].

The temples, or places set apart for religious worship, are generally built of earth within, and cased on the outside with stone. They are of various sizes, but all of a

Their temples, and images.

[o] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 41. [p] Hamilt. p. 53. [q] Balbi, p. 126. Ovingt. p. 591. [r] Ovingt. p. 594, & seqq.

conic

conic form. Some are as high as one of our churches, and no leſs than a quarter of a mile round; all gilded towards the top, and many all over, both within and without; which great conſumption of gold has made that metal ſcarce in Pegu[s].

The images of the inferior gods, which are found in their temples, are placed in domes, in a ſitting poſture, with their legs acroſs, and toes of equal length. Their arms and hands very ſmall, in proportion to their bodies: their faces longer than human: their ears long, and the lappets very thick. The congregation bow to them when they go in, and when they go out; and that is all the worſhip which they offer them[t]. Fitch could perceive no kind of divine ſervice performed in their churches but that of preaching[u].

Feaſt of ſky-rockets. The Peguers never repair an old temple; nor is there any occaſion for that piety or expence: for every September there is an old cuſtom for men of fortune to play off ſky-rockets; and if any of them fall to the ground, and ſpends its fire without mounting, the owner becomes much dejected; believing the deities are angry with him. On the contrary, if it flies a conſiderable height, he takes it for an infallible ſign of his being in favour with the gods, and never fails to build a new church, which he dedicates to the divinity he adores: and when it is finiſhed, certain prieſts, whoſe temples are gone to decay, remove their images thither, and have the benefice for their pains.

Monſtrous large ones. Captain Hamilton, had ſeen ſome of thoſe rockets ſo large, that one of them would contain above five hundred weight of powder and coal-duſt, which is their uſual compoſition. Their carcaſe is the trunk of a great tree, made hollow, leaving about two inches of ſolid wood on the outſide.

Hermaphrodites. They have another feaſt called kollok, at which time women are ſelected, to perform a dance to the gods of the earth. Hermaphrodites, who are numerous in Pegu, are commonly choſen, in caſe there happens to be a number ſufficient to make up a ſet. Our author ſaw nine dance like mad folks, for above half an hour; and then ſome of them fell in fits, foaming at the mouth for half an hour more. When they come to themſelves, they

[s] Freder. ubi ſupra, p. 239. Fitch, ubi ſupra, p 1739. [t] Hamilt. p. 54. [u] Fitch apud Purchas, ubi ſupra, p. 1740.

pretend

pretend to foretell what will happen that year: as, whether there will be plenty or ſcarcity of grain; whether it will be a healthy or ſickly ſeaſon, and other things of moment; which they learned in their converſation with the gods, while they were in the trance [w].

Beſides the feſtivals above mentioned, the Peguers obſerve ſeveral others, which they call Sapan. *Other feſtivals.*

The prieſts of Pegu, called talepoy, obſerve celibacy, and eat but once a day. They wear a long frock, girt with a leathern thong, four inches broad, at which hangs a bag for receiving alms, for they have no ſtipends; and in caſe the few acres, which every one who builds a temple beſtows for their maintenance, be not ſufficient, they ſend ſome novices abroad, to beg alms. Theſe mendicants are clad in a large orange-coloured mantle, and have a little baſket hanging at their left arm. In the left hand they carry a little drum, and a ſtick in the right, with which, when they come to the door of any houſe, they beat three ſtrokes. If nobody anſwers, they beat a ſecond and a third time; but then, if the houſe continues ſilent, they go on to the next, without ſpeaking one word. Yet they are ſeldom ſent away without an alms of rice, pulſe, fruits, or roots, which are their only food; for the people have them in great veneration, on account of their exemplary lives: inſomuch that they drink the water in which the bodies of the talepoy are waſhed, according to cuſtom, once every year. *Talepoy, or prieſts.* *Kind of mendicant friars.*

They dwell in the woods, in a ſort of neſts or cages, built in the tops of trees, for fear of the tigers. Their lives are innocent, and they are very humane. They preach frequently; aſſembling the people every new moon, by the ſound of a bell or baſon. Their ſubject or text is ſome precept of the law of nature, which they think ſufficient to ſalvation, without regard to ſpeculative doctrines. They teach charity, as the moſt ſublime of all virtues, and have no religious controverſies. Perſecution is a ſtranger to them; nor are they offended if any of their people embrace a different faith: they ſay the mind is a free agent, and muſt not be forced. They even go ſo far as to hold all religions to be good, and ſay that the Deity is pleaſed with variety [x]. *Dwell in woods.*

The talepoy have a kind of hierarchy among them, and a high-prieſt, who is ſtyled rawli. All the clergy *Several orders.*

[w] Hamilt. p. 55. & ſeq. [x] Balbi, p. 123. Fitch, ubi ſup. Ovingt. p. 593. Hamilt. p. 52.

have

have ſumptuous funerals, made at the expence of the people: their bodies are burnt on a pile of coſtly wood, and the aſhes caſt into the river. When a high-prieſt dies, his corpſe is kept embalmed for three or four months. At the time appointed for his funeral, they erect four maſts in the ground about one hundred yards one from the other, with a very tall one in the middle, round which they build three ſcaffolds, railed about; the lowermoſt largeſt, and the higheſt leaſt. Theſe they fill with combuſtibles; and, on ropes drawn tight from the middle maſt to the corner ones, place rockets. Then, the corpſe being laid along on the upper ſcaffold, a trumpet is blown; at the ſound of which, the rockets are fired, which, in an inſtant, ſet all in a flame; ſo that, in an hour, the whole is conſumed [y].

Government of Pegu.

Of the King and Nobility.

Orders of nobility. THE nobility of Pegu are diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral orders, of which we find mention of two: the firſt Baja, who are the ſame with our dukes; and Semini, or Shemini, who are the commanders, great officers of ſtate, and the barons [z]. Beſides theſe, we meet with two other titles of honour and dignity: one Najiran, which ſignifies *lord*; the other Banna, ar Bayna, which we find added to the names of great men, as Chau-bayna, king of Martavân; Banna Dola, from whom Sirian was taken by Nicote.

Their ſlaviſh ſubjection. Theſe nobles are in a kind of ſlaviſh ſubjection to the king, who takes care to keep up that ſervile obedience among his chiefs and great men, by employing them in acts of labour, very unbecoming the dignity of noblemen. While Balbi was in Pegu, about 1586, they were commanded to go and help in building a gallery and aqueduct, which order they put in execution; nor were they excuſed from going on with the work although it rained heavily, but with ſpades in their hands, were ſeen to dig the ground like other labourers; the king being preſent to ſee they were not idle.

Reverence paid the king. This prince appears in great pomp, and is treated with the higheſt reverence by all his ſubjects. In his public audiences, which he gives twice every day, all his ſhe-

[y] Ovingt. p. 594 [z] Hamilt. p. 60. [z] Balbi, p. 103, 119.

mines,

mines, or nobles, sit on each side of him, at a good distance; and without them is a numerous guard.

Pomp in going abroad.

When he rides abroad he is attended with a great guard, and many noblemen. He often appears upon an elephant, in a little castle or pavilion richly gilded. Sometimes he shews himself in a kind of coach, called serrion: it consists of a great frame, like a horse-litter, on which is placed a sort of small house, covered at top, but open on the side, all over gilded, and set with rubies and sapphires. This machine is carried on the shoulders of sixteen or eighteen men, and generally accompanied with the acclamations of the people [a].

Revenues and wealth.

The king of Pegu's revenues arise chiefly from the rent of lands, of which he is the sole proprietor. Another branch of it is the duty paid for commodities imported and exported. The treasure of the kingdom has been vastly increased, in former times, by the spoil of conquered countries; and what contributed much to prevent their dissipation, was the king's being at no expence to maintain his standing forces, excepting when in the field. In a word, he was judged to be the richest monarch in the world next to the emperor of China [b].

Power and forces.

The forces of the kingdom, during the dominion of the Barma race, were exceedingly numerous. Those monarchs, by the report of most authors, have brought into the field armies amounting to the number of a million, and a million and a half of men; for the maintenance of whom he assigned lands and towns to his nobles, who were obliged to keep them in time of peace, and produce them in time of war. The king then had the charge of providing for them, and found them in pay, cloaths, and arms: but when the war was over, they were all returned into his magazines. It would seem hard to conceive where provisions could be had for such numerous forces: but, besides the great plenty of all necessaries of life, it must be considered, not only that the Peguers are very abstemious in their diet, but also that nothing, either animals or vegetables, comes amiss to them. They eat the flesh of all kinds of creatures, even cats, rats, serpents, and other vermin; and when that is wanting, provided they have but water and salt, they will support themselves a long time under a bush, with roots, flowers, and the leaves of trees.

[a] Fitch apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1738. Hakl. vol. ii. p. 235. Balbi, p. 110.

[b] Frederic apud

Their arms. The arms of the ſoldiers conſiſt of lances, muſkets, ſwords, and targets. Their muſkets are beautiful, and as good as the European; but their pikes are bad, and ſwords worſe, being no better than long knives with one edge, and without a point. The king had plenty of all ſorts of artillery; but had not ſkilful gunners. He likewiſe wanted ſhip-carpenters and ſailors; and this is the reaſon why he had no naval force, which otherwiſe he might be well provided with. Inſtead of ſhipping, therefore, he contented himſelf with certain pleaſure barges, than which nothing could be more rich and beautiful.

Elephants of war. This monarch had no fewer than eight hundred elephants trained to war, furniſhed with caſtles on their backs, each holding four ſoldiers; and it was thought formerly, that the chief ſtrength of his armies conſiſted in theſe elephants, whoſe number he was able to encreaſe at pleaſure from the foreſts. His great power might alſo be judged of from hence, that he had no fewer than twenty-ſix crowned heads at his command.

Wife and concubines. The king of Pegu had only one wife; but he maintained beſides three hundred concubines [c].

The kingdom of Pegu was founded about eleven hundred years ago, and had a ſeaman for its firſt monarch. This prince was ſucceeded by his ſon, who, we are told, lived eighty years, and had for his ſucceſſor his ſon, named Tam. Theſe three, as well as all who came after them, as Kael Vea, Talanna, Inda, Dazar, Mampla, and ſix or ſeven others, of whom the laſt was Shemin Doo, added to their name the title of Banna, or Bainha [d]. Theſe princes had, by degrees, ſo enlarged their dominions, that Breſſagukan, who aſcended the throne in the year 1519, had under his ſubjection nine kingdoms, which were governed by his lieutenants, whoſe revenues amounted to three millions of gold [e].

Breſſagukan.

Portugueſe embaſſy. It was doubtleſs to this prince that Antony Correa was ſent in 1519, to conclude a peace; at the ratification of which aſſiſted the king's miniſters, with the prieſts of both nations, Romiſh and Peguan [f].

The king murdered. We meet with nothing farther relating to Breſſagukan, till the year 1539, when he was ſlain on the following occaſion. Among other princes, his tributaries, was Parà

[c] Frieder. ibid. p. 236. Balbi, p. 111. Hamilt. p. 46. [d] De Faria, Portug. Aſia, vol. iii. p. 117. [e] Martinere Dict. Geogr. art. Pegou. Pinto's Travels, p 198, 206. [f] Caſtanneda, Hiſt. del l' Indie Orient. part ii. chap. 12. p. 59.

Mandorà

Mandorà, king of the Barmas. This prince, by one condition of his vaſſalage, was obliged to furniſh the Pegu monarch with thirty thouſand of his ſubjects to labour in the mines, and other public works. As the king uſed frequently to viſit theſe works, and took along with him none but his women, who delighted to ſee foreigners, and the progreſs which they made, the Barma labourers formed a deſign to rob the queen and all the concubines of their jewels, the firſt opportunity which offered. Purſuant to this reſolution, the next time the king went to viſit the works, the Barmas murdered him, and having ſtripped the ladies, fled to their own country [g].

The Barmas.

The Barmas inhabited the highlands of Pangavirau, which encompaſs the kingdom of Pegu. Their country, which was two hundred leagues in length, and eighty in breadth, made one of the thirteen kingdoms, which, according to their hiſtories, were formerly united under one monarch, whoſe yoke they threw off, by poiſoning him at a banquet, prepared for him in the city of Chaleu, and thus became independent along with Pegu and the reſt [h].

They invade Pegu,

This enormous action of the Barma ſlaves threw all the dominions of Pegu into confuſion; but the people every where inſtead of riſing to revenge the death of the murdered king, divided into factions, and began rebellions in ſeveral parts of the empire: ſo that Dacha Rupi, who was heir to the deceaſed, found himſelf in no condition to maintain his authority. Parà Mandarà, then king of the Barmas, taking advantage of theſe commotions, which weakened the ſtrength of Pegu, not only threw off the yoke, but even formed the deſign of conquering that country, which he invaded with an army of more than a million of men and five thouſand elephants, beſides a great fleet, which he ſent down the river of Ava towards Bagou, corruptly called Pegu, the capital of that empire, while he marched with his forces thither by land.

and conquer it.

Juſt at this juncture Ferdinand de Morales arrived in the port of Pegu, with a great galleon, laden on account of the king of Portugal, and ſent thither to trade in the name of the viceroy of Goa. Dacha Rupi ſent to deſire his aſſiſtance againſt the enemy; and, having gained him with favours and promiſes, gave him the command of his whole fleet. Morales on this appointment went on board a galliot, and

[g] De Faria, vol. ii. p. 10, & ſeq. [h] Pinto's Voy. p. 241.

having joined the king's ſhips, put himſelf in a poſture to oppoſe the adverſary. Mean while the king of the Barmas advanced by land like a torrent, carrying all before him, and his fleet covered the river, though as large as the Ganges; with this power he eaſily gained both the city and kingdom of Pegu, which he quickly over-ran. Morales, although the ſhips under his command were ſcarce viſible in reſpect of the enemy's, yet met them at the point of Jinamarreka, where a furious, bloody, and deſperate fight enſued, in which the Peguers, under the conduct of the Portugueſe commander, made great havock among the ſhips of the Barmas; but finding themſelves overpowered by numbers, they at length deſerted Morales, who alone in his galliot withſtood the whole fleet of the enemy; and performing wonders, made a great ſlaughter among them, till oppreſſed by the multitudes who aſſailed him on all ſides, he was at laſt ſlain [1]. This action happened in the year 1539.

Parà Mandarà beſieges Martavân.

After the conqueſt of Pegu, Parà Mandarà turned his arms againſt the neighbouring kingdoms which had been tributary to that empire. In the year 1544, he marched againſt Martavân, capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, then very great and flouriſhing, its revenue amounting to three millions of gold: he laid ſiege to the city by land, with ſeven hundred thouſand men, and by ſea with a fleet of one thouſand ſeven hundred ſail, a hundred of which were large gallies; in them were ſeven hundred Portugueſe, commanded by John Cayero, reputed a man of valour and conduct.

At the end of ſeven months, in which five aſſaults had been given to the city, and the Barmas had loſt a hundred and twenty thouſand men, the king Chaubayna, finding it impoſſible to withſtand any longer ſo great a power, eſpecially as proviſions were become already ſo ſcarce that they had eaten three thouſand elephants, offered to capitulate; but no conditions were allowed by the beſiegers. The king, in this diſtreſs, reſolved to apply to the Portugueſe, to whom he had always been very kind and ſerviceable. With this view he ſent one Seixas to entreat Cayero to receive him, his family, and treaſure, into the four ſhips under his command, offering to give half of his riches to the king of Portugal, to become his vaſſal, and pay ſuch tribute as ſhould be agreed on; for he did not doubt but that, with the aſſiſtance of two thouſand Por-

[1] De Faria, ubi ſup. vol. ii. p. 9, & ſeq.

tugueſe,

tugueſe, maintained at his own expence, he ſhould be able to repulſe the enemy, and retrieve his affairs. Cayero conſulted the principal officers, and in their preſence aſked Seixas what the treaſure of Martavân might amount to: Seixas anſwered, that out of what he had ſeen, for he had not ſeen all, two ſhips might be loaded with gold and jewels, and four or five more with ſilver. This was a propoſal too advantageous to be ſlighted; but the Portugueſe, envious of the great fortune which Cayero would have made, by accepting that offer, threatened to diſcover the matter to the Barma king, in caſe he did not reject the propoſal [k].

The king capitulates.

The king of Martavân, no leſs ſurpriſed than overwhelmed with anguiſh at this refuſal, reſolved to ſet fire to the city, and ſallying with thoſe few men whom he had left, die honourably in the midſt of his enemies; but the ſame night one of his officers, with four thouſand men, deſerted to the beſiegers, and diſcovered his deſign. The king, thus betrayed, capitulated with the Barma king for his own life, and the lives of his wife and children, with leave to end his days in retirement. The way from the city to the king of the Barmas tent, above a league diſtant, was lined with muſqueteers of ſundry nations, and next the gate were poſted the Portugueſe. The firſt who came forth was the queen Nhay Kanatoo in a chair, with her two daughters and two ſons in two others. They were ſurrounded by forty beautiful young ladies, led by as many ancient matrons, accompanied by prieſts, who prayed and comforted them. Then the king appeared amidſt a guard of Barmas: he was ſeated on a ſmall ſhe elephant, clothed in black velvet, his head, beard, and eye-brows were ſhaved, and about his neck hung a rope, which moved even the enemy to compaſſion.

Goes to the camp.

The unfortunate king, as ſoon as he ſaw the Portugueſe, ſtopped, and would not proceed one ſtep till they were removed from that poſt. When Chaubayna came before his conqueror, he caſt himſelf at his feet; but not being able to ſpeak for grief, the raulin of Mounay, chief prieſt of theſe Gentiles, and eſteemed a ſaint, made a moving ſpeech in the captive king's behalf; but nevertheleſs the miſerable prince, his queen, children, and ladies, were all ſecured. The two following days were ſpent in removing the treaſure, amounting to one hundred millions of gold, which required the labour of one

The city plundered.

[k] Pinto, p. 196, & ſeqq. De Faria, vol. iii. p. 348, & ſeqq.

thouſand men. Liberty was then given the army to plunder the city, which was afterwards burned. On this occaſion above ſixty thouſand perſons periſhed by fire and ſword; ſixty thouſand more were made ſlaves; one thouſand ſeven hundred temples, and a hundred and forty thouſand houſes were reduced to aſhes. There were found in the town ſix thouſand pieces of cannon, a hundred thouſand quintals of pepper, and the ſame quantity of other ſpices [1].

King put to death. Next day appeared on an adjacent hill, called Beydao, twenty-one gibbets, with a ſtrong guard of horſe. Thither was led the queen, with her children and ladies, in all one hundred and forty, and there hanged up by the feet (F). Chaubayna, and fifty men of great quality, were caſt into the ſea with ſtones about their necks; a circumſtance which gave ſo much diſpleaſure to the Barma army that they mutinied, and the cruel king was in great danger of ſuffering for his tyranny. However, the ſtorm blowing over, he left people to rebuild the ruined city, and returned to Pegu with the reſt of his army, among whom was Cayero, and his ſeven hundred Portugueſe.

Prom beſieged by Parà Mandarà, and betrayed. About this time the king received ſome intimation, that the emperor of Pandula, ſtyled the Siammon, intended to invade his dominions; and that the king of Ava had confederated with thoſe of Sevâdi and Châleus, to give that monarch a paſſage through their territories. On this advice Parà Mandarà fortified all his frontier places, and then having increaſed his forces to nine hundred thouſand men, in March, 1545, ſet out from Pegu to beſiege Prom. He embarked this numerous army in twelve thouſand rowing veſſels, and went up the river Anſedaa as high as Danaplun: then paſſing out of it into that called Pichu Malakou, in April, came before the city of Prom. The king was dead, and had left a ſon to inherit, who was no more than thirteen years of age: as he had married the king of Ava's daughter, he had ſent to him for ſuccour on this occaſion, and expected a ſupply of thirty thouſand men. This circumſtance moved the enemy to preſs the ſiege, in hopes to gain the city before that aid ſhould arrive. After ſix days ſiege, the queen offered to hold the crown of Parà Mandarà, and pay what tribute he thought fit to im-

[1] Pinto, p. 199, & ſeq. De Faria, p. 349, & ſeq.

(F) All alive, excepting the queen; who, overcome with grief, expired in the lap of one of the ladies.

poſe,

poſe, provided he would withdraw his forces. On the other hand, he inſiſted that ſhe ſhould put herſelf, with all her treaſure, into his power; but ſhe knowing how perfidious he was, reſolved not to truſt him: he therefore renewed his aſſaults, in which, and by the plague that raged in his camp, he loſt eighty thouſand men, among whom were five hundred Portugueſe [m].

This way of attack proving ſo dangerous, he raiſed a mount which overlooked the city, and from thence plying it with his artillery, left no place of ſafety to the beſieged: but five thouſand of them making a ſucceſsful ſally, not only deſtroyed the mount, and killed fifteen thouſand of the enemy, but alſo carried off eighty cannon, and wounded the king himſelf, who in a rage ſlew two thouſand Portugueſe, then on guard, as being negligent of their duty. Parà Mandarà began to deſpair of ſucceeding in his enterprize, when he accompliſhed by bribery what he could not obtain by force; for towards the end of Auguſt, Shemîn Malatay, one of the four principal men who commanded in Prom, treacherouſly gave the enemy entrance into the city, which was utterly deſtroyed with fire and ſword; the bodies of two thouſand ſlain children, cut to pieces, were ſerved as food for the elephants; the queen, ſtripped naked, was publicly whipped, and then tortured to death; the young king was tied to her dead body, and both together caſt into the river. Three hundred gentlemen underwent the like fate, after ſtakes had been driven through their bodies.

Meleytay fortreſs beſieged, and taken.

The tyrant was employed in fortifying the city, of which he had been proclaimed king, when advice was brought him by his ſpies, that the prince of Ava had ſailed from thence down the river Queytor with thirty thouſand Siamon ſoldiers on board four hundred rowing veſſels; and hearing of his ſiſter's diſaſter, had ſtopped at Meleytay, a fortreſs about twelve leagues north of Prom, where he waited to be joined by his father the king of Ava, who, with eighty thouſand Mons, was marching by land. On this advice, the Barma king ſent his foſter-brother Chaumigrem along the river-ſide with two hundred thouſand men, and went by water with a hundred thouſand more, in two thouſand feros. On the approach of Chaumigrem, the prince of Ava burnt his barks; and forming a vanguard of the mariners, drew up his thirty thouſand Mons to encounter the enemy. The fight was bloody; all the vanguard were

[m] Pinto, p. 205, & ſeq. De Faria, 351.

cut to pieces, and of the thirty thouſand Mons only eight hundred remained; but the Barmas paid dear for the victory, with the loſs of a hundred and fifteen thouſand men.

The king advancing, and ſeeing the havock that had been made of his men, attacked the fortreſs furiouſly for ſeven days: at the end of which the eight hundred Mons, deſpairing of holding out long againſt ſo great a power, and reſolving to ſell their lives at the deareſt rate, ſallied out in a dark rainy night; and, breaking through the enemy's troops in ſeveral places, preſſed ſo hard upon the king himſelf, that he was forced to leap into the river and ſwim for his life. In ſhort, the Mons were all cut off, but not till they had ſlain twelve thouſand of their enemies; among whom were about two thouſand Barmas, as many foreigners, and the reſt Peguers. The victor afterwards entered Meleytay, and put to death the Shemin of that city, who had betrayed Prom to him; ſaying, that he who had been a traitor to his natural prince, could not be faithful to him [r].

Advances to Ava.

The king immediately ordered the fort to be repaired; which being finiſhed, he embarked ſeventy thouſand men in one thouſand rowing veſſels, and went up the Queytor, in order to obſerve the country. Having paſſed by many conſiderable places belonging to the kingdom of Chaleu and Jacupalaon, he, in October, 1545, after a voyage of twenty-eight days, arrived at the port of Ava, about a league from the city, where he burnt between two and three thouſand veſſels, and alſo ſeveral villages; with the loſs however of eight thouſand men, including ſixty-two Portugueſe. As for the city of Ava, he did not think fit to attack it, for it had been newly fortified, and was defended by twenty thouſand Mons, from the mountains of Pandaleu; where he was informed eighty thouſand more were raiſing for the ſervice of the king of Ava. For as ſoon as this prince received advice of the loſs of Prom, not being ſtrong enough to revenge the injury, he went in perſon to implore the Siamon's protection, and become his tributary, on condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him with his forces, and enable him to recover that city.

without attacking it.

This intelligence ſtartled the Barma king, who therefore, after thirteen days ſtay, returned to Prom; having firſt diſpatched an ambaſſador to the Kalaminham, in order to engage him by a treaty of alliance to divert

[r] Pinto, p. 210, & ſeqq. De Faria, p. 352, & ſeqq.

the

the Siamon by a war the next ſpring, from aſſiſting the king of Ava, whom he deſigned to conquer.

The Kalaminham, his great empire.

The Kalaminham, which ſignifies *Lord of the World*, was a prince of great power, whoſe dominions were ſituated in the midſt of this region, and contained a large extent of country. His capital was named Timplan; where he reſided in vaſt ſtate and magnificence. It ſtood on the great river Pitay, had a ſtrong wall, defended with towers and a wide ditch. It contained no fewer than four hundred thouſand houſes, moſt of one or two ſtories; and two thouſand ſix hundred temples full of images, which were ſerved by twenty-ſeven ſorts or orders of prieſts. The palace was ſplendid beyond imagination; and in it were the ſtatues of thirteen Kalaminhams in ſilver, with each a golden mitre on his head.

The empire, which Pinto does not name, was three hundred leagues long, and as many broad, containing twenty-ſeven kingdoms; each divided into twenty-ſix provinces. They are full of noble cities; the ſoil exceedingly fertile, and abounding with commodities, which, with the manufactures, produce a moſt gainful commerce. The inhabitants are extremely civilized and mild tempered; the women very fair, yet modeſt. The emperor has always ſixty thouſand horſe and ten thouſand elephants about his perſon. His forces throughout the provinces, amount to one million ſeven hundred thouſand men, of whom three hundred and fifty thouſand are horſe: there are alſo fifty-five thouſand elephants; on account of whoſe number in this country, the Kalaminham ſtyles himſelf in his title, lord of the invincible force of elephants. In a word, the revenue of this mighty prince amounted to twenty millions of gold; and he worſhipped Kiay Frigau, or Firgau, that is, *the God of Motes in the Sun*, who is alſo adored at Dagun in Pegu [P].

The Chaumigrem baffled before Szvâdi.

This is, in brief, the account, true or falſe (G), which Mendez Pinto has given of the empire of Kalaminham, and its ſovereign. Upon the return of the ambaſſadors from Pegu, the king ſent the Chaumigrem, his foſter-

[P] Pinto, p. 214, & ſeqq.

(G) In our opinion, this relation, eſpecially as it ſtands at large in the book itſelf, has all the marks of forgery; nor did either the emperor or the empire ever exiſt but in the author's brain.

bro-

brother, whom he honoured with the title of Koutalanha, that is, *the King's Brother*, to meet him, accompanied with all the grandees of the kingdom, and four battalions of ſtrangers; among whom were one thouſand Portugueſe, commanded by Antonio Fereira of Braganza, a man of great underſtanding; to whom the king gave a penſion of twelve thouſand ducats a year, beſides very conſiderable preſents. As the ſeaſon was not yet arrived for invading Ava, the king ſent the Chaumigrem, with one hundred and fifty thouſand men in thirteen thouſand boats, againſt the city Sebâdi, or Savâdi, the capital of a ſmall kingdom one hundred and thirty leagues diſtant from Pegu towards the north-eaſt. The general, after having loſt many men in ſeveral aſſaults, raiſed two mounts, from whence he did much damage to the city: but the beſieged ſallying killed at one time eight thouſand men, and five thouſand at another; loſſes which ſo diſcouraged Chaumigrem that he drew off his army, in order to revenge his diſgrace on a town called Valentay, which had furniſhed the city with proviſions; but a body of Savâdis falling on his troops by ſurprize, put them to the rout [q].

Diſtractions in Siam.

During theſe tranſactions on the ſide of Pegu, the empire of the Sornau, commonly called Siam, fell into great troubles. The king, coming from the war of Chiammay, was poiſoned by his queen; who, in his abſence, had been got with child by an officer of the court. She made away after the ſame manner with the young king, in order to advance her paramour, whom ſhe married. He accordingly aſcended the throne in November, 1545: A.D. 1546. but in January following they were both ſlain at a feaſt, by the contrivance of Oya Paſſiloko, and the king of Kamboja; who conferred the crown on a religious man named Pretiem, natural brother to the late monarch, but of a cowardly diſpoſition and a tyrant. As ſoon as the news of this revolution came to the ears of the king of Pegu, who at that time kept his court in the city of Anapleu, he aſſembled his lords to conſult them on the occaſion. Their advice was, that he ought not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of conquering that country: that, in caſe he ſucceeded, he would be honoured with the title of lord of the white elephant; and likewiſe open himſelf a way into China; againſt which empire the great khân of Tartary, the Siamon, and the Kalaminham, had led ſuch formidable armies [r].

[q] Pinto, p. 245, 249. [r] Pinto, p. 278, & ſeq. De Faria, vol. ii. p. 137, and vol. iii. p. 357.

The

The Barma monarch, pleaſed with their approbation of what he had himſelf deſigned, immediately repaired to Martavân; where, in leſs than three months, he aſſembled an army of eight hundred thouſand men; of theſe one hundred thouſand were foreigners, among whom were one thouſand Portugueſe, forty thouſand horſe, ſixty thouſand muſqueteers, twenty thouſand elephants, and one thouſand cannon. The Portugueſe were commanded by James Suarez, called the Gallego, or Galician, who left Portugal in 1538; but had now a penſion from the king of Pegu of two hundred thouſand ducats a year, with the title of his brother, and the governor of the kingdom.

The king departed from Martavân in April, 1548, and having at length entered the kingdom of Siam, arrived before the fortreſs of Tapurau, commanded by a Mogor, containing two thouſand houſes. The Barmas having been repulſed in three aſſaults, Suarez, who was general of the camp, and governed the king by his advice, made a breach with forty cannon; and then, giving a fierce attack, in half an hour all the beſieged, to the number of ſix thouſand Siamites, were ſlain, with the loſs of three thouſand of his men; in revenge of whom, the king put all the women to the ſword. After this exploit, he advanced to the city of Sokotay, nine leagues beyond, and encamped along the river Lebrau, deſigning to reduce it: but, as he was adviſed not to loſe it, or waſte his forces, he departed next day, and marched through woods cut down by his pioneers, till he came to Tilau, a place on the coaſt towards Junkalau, near the kingdom of Quedah (H); from whence, in nine days (I), he reached the neighbourhood of Odiaa, or Judia, the capital of Siam. A D. 1548. *The Barma army invades the country.*

The beſieged ſeeming to diſregard this great power, Suarez made an attack on the ſouth ſide with ſeventy-two thouſand men, in two bodies, ſcaling the walls with above one thouſand ladders; but, in half an hour he was repulſed with the loſs of ten thouſand men. The king enraged, renewed the attack with five thou- *Odiaa, the capital, beſieged.*

(H) This was an extravagant route, going above two hundred miles beyond Siam to the ſouth-weſt, inſtead of taking the direct way thither: but ſuch blunders frequently happen to forgers. Juncalau is doubtleſs a miſtake of the preſs for Junçalon, as ſome write it, an iſland near the coaſt.

(I) It muſt rather have been a march of nineteen, or more.

ſand

ſand elephants; which, advancing up to the walls (K), tore away their target fences, while the muſqueteers from the caſtles on their backs made ſuch execution, that none durſt appear on the ramparts. The walls being thus deſerted, the beſiegers mounted with their ladders; and one thouſand two hundred Turks, ſliding down by the wall, attempted to break open a gate with two battering rams, in order to obtain the reward of five hundred thouſand ducats, which the king had promiſed to thoſe who ſhould let him into the city: but before they could compaſs their deſign, they were attacked and cut to pieces by three thouſand Jaos, who then mounting the wall, drove off the Barmas with great ſlaughter [s].

The Barmas repulſed with great ſlaughter.

The king of Pegu, not diſcouraged with this freſh repulſe, renewed the aſſault with the elephants. At the noiſe of their approach, Oya Paſſiliko, who commanded in the city, cauſed a gate to be opened; and ſent the king word, that his majeſty might bring the promiſed reward, for he was ready to receive it. The king anſwered by a furious aſſault; during which, the Bramas twice forced the gate and entered the city; but the king of Siam, alarmed at the danger, advancing with thirty thouſand choice troops, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and the enemy were driven out of the city. Hereupon the king, by the advice of Suarez, ſounded a retreat; and then found that he had been wounded with an arrow. The operations were retarded ſeventeen days by this accident; he made ſeveral other attacks, but with no better ſucceſs than before. The ſiege had now laſted near five months, and eight aſſaults had been given in vain: he reſolved, however, to make one vigorous effort more, with twenty-ſix ſtrong timber caſtles, filled with combuſtibles, each ſixty-five feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-five high, mounted on twenty-ſix wheels of iron. Theſe ſet forward in a dark and tempeſtuous night, under three diſcharges of all the artillery in the camp: and being brought cloſe to the walls, fire was put to them. They burnt four hours with a dreadful blaze, during which time the fight was renewed on both ſides with double fury and equal advantage, ſo that at length a retreat was ſounded.

[s] Pinto, p. 279, & ſeqq.

(K) Odiaa, or Siam, is ſeated in an iſland encompaſſed with walls. How then could the elephants approach them? This diſcovers that Pinto was not at this ſiege, as he pretends he was.

It

It was afterwards resolved in a council of war to continue the siege; and a large mount of earth was raised, to command the city, mounted with forty pieces of cannon ready to batter it, when in October advice came, that Shoripam Shay had rebelled in Pegu[t]. *The Peguers rebel.*

Shoripam Shay was nearly related to the preceding monarch, slain twelve years before. He was a religious person, of great understanding, and esteemed a saint. As he was a famous preacher, he made a sermon in which he set forth the tyranny of the Barmas, and the evils which the kingdom suffered by them, in so moving a manner, that he was taken out of the pulpit, and proclaimed king by the people: who, as a token of sovereignty, gave him the title of Shemîndoo. As soon as this person found himself invested with the regal authority, he cut in pieces fifteen thousand Barmas and seized on the treasure. This change was so agreeable to the wishes of the people all over the kingdom, who thought now the time of their deliverance was come, that in twenty-three days, all the strong holds in Pegu fell into Shemîndoo's hands.

On advice of this insurrection, the king immediately raised the siege of Odiaa, and in seventeen days marched to Martavân. There he was farther informed, that the new king had posted five hundred thousand men in different places, in order to intercept his passage; and, what foreboded worse, fifty thousand of his Pegu troops, in aversion to the Barma yoke, had deserted to his rival. To prevent a greater desertion, he departed from Martavân; and arriving in the kingdom, found Shemîndoo waiting for him with six hundred thousand men, in a great plain two leagues from the city of Pegu[u]. According to some authors, the king sent Suarez de Melo before him from Siam, with two hundred Portuguese, to suppress the rebellion. Shemîndoo fled on the approach of this commander, who followed him to the city Sevâdi; but the other got into the city of Pegu, which sided with him. The queen fled to the castle, where she was defended by twenty Portuguese, till the king himself arrived with his forces[w]. Next day the two armies came to an engagement; in which, after a desperate battle that lasted three hours, Shemîndoo was defeated, with the loss of three hundred thousand of his forces; so that he escaped with *The king returns and defeats Shemîndoo.*

[t] Pinto, p. 282, & seqq. [u] Ibid. p. 284, 286. [w] De Faria, Portug. Asia, vol. ii. p. 136.

only

only six horse to the fortress of Battelor, from whence he fled in the night up the river to Sedaa. Of the Barma troops sixty thousand were slain, including two hundred and eighty Portuguese.

Next morning the king marched to the city, and the inhabitants surrendered, on condition of security for their lives and effects. The kingdom being thus brought again under his subjection, he punished the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, whose heads he cut off, and confiscated their estates, amounting to ten millions of gold, besides plate and jewels. Others say, that contrary to agreement, he put all to the sword, excepting twelve thousand who were within the liberty of Suarez de Melo's house, which was exempted from the slaughter. The plunder was incredible; De Melo alone got three millions. But these severities did not quench the flame of rebellion; for in less than three months news came that the city of Martavân had revolted; and that the chalagomin, or governor, having slain two thousand Barmas, declared for Shemîndoo.

Martavân revolts.

The king, on this advice, gave orders for all the lords of the kingdom to repair to him with their forces, within fifteen days; and went from his capital at Pegu, with three thousand men, to a town called Mouchau, there to wait for them. Being informed in this place, that the Shemîn, who was governor of Satân, or Zatân, a delightful city, had submitted to Shemîndoo, and also lent him a large sum of gold, he sent for him, with an intention to put him to death. The Shemîn, who suspected the king's design, feigned himself sick; and immediately advising with his relations, it was agreed among them, that he had no way to escape the Barma's anger but by killing him. Accordingly they drew together about six hundred men; and, assaulting a temple, where he was lodged, slew him in his apartment, with the few who happened to be about him. The guards in the court being alarmed with the noise, a fierce combat ensued, in which eight hundred were slain, most of them Barmas. The Shemîn then retreated to a place called Pontel; whither those of the country, hearing of the king's death, whom they mortally hated, resorted to him. When he had assembled about five thousand men, he returned to seek the soldiers whom the king had brought with him to Mouchau; and falling on them, dispersed in several places, slew them all. With the Barmas, were slain fourscore out of three hundred Portuguese. The rest, with their commander Suarez, surrendered

A Shemîn rebels and murders the king.

rendered, and were ſpared, on condition that, for the future, they ſhould ſerve the Shemîn [x].

This uſurper ſeeing his forces increaſe, by the reſort of people, to thirty thouſand men, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. Then retiring to the fortreſs of Tagâlua, for fear of the forces which were on the road to join the murdered king, he endeavoured, with great promiſes, to raiſe troops; and, to ſpirit up the people, declared he would not leave a Barma in all the kingdom. It happened that one of the Barmas, who had been with the late king, eſcaped the ſlaughter; and, ſwimming over the river, went and informed the Chaumigrem, who was encamped at Koutafarem with one hundred and eighty thouſand men, all Peguers, excepting thirty thouſand Barmas. The general, though greatly afflicted at the news, yet knowing his ſafety depended on concealing it, immediately aſſembled all his commanders; and told them that he had received a letter from the king, with orders to put forces into Koſmîn and Dalaa; for that he was informed the Shemîndoo intended to poſſeſs himſelf of the province of Danaplu, along the rivers Digon and Meydoo, as far as Anſedaa. Accordingly he ſent detachments to thoſe places, as alſo to Shara and Malakou; and thus got rid of the one hundred and fifty thouſand Peguers, who, he knew, had they ſtayed to hear of the king's death, would have put him and his thirty thouſand Barmas to the ſword. *Uſurps the throne.*

As ſoon as they were detached, he returned to the city of Pegu, but three miles diſtant, and ſecured the king's treaſure, amounting to above thirty millions of gold, beſides jewels. He likewiſe ſeized all the arms and ammunition. He ſet fire to the magazines, the arſenals, the palace, and two thouſand rowing veſſels which were on the river. Then deſtroying all the artillery, he retired, with the wives and children of the Barmas, towards Tangu, his native country, about one hundred and ſixty leagues diſtant within land, where he arrived in fifteen days. By this expedition he eſcaped the hands of one hundred and twenty thouſand Peguers, who, two days after they had left his camp, hearing that the king had been ſlain, haſted back to ſeek the thirty thouſand Barmas; whom they purſued as far as Guaynakoutel, about forty leagues beyond the capital, and then deſiſted, finding they had paſſed through that place five days before. On their return, they reſolved to join the Shemîn of Zatân; *The Chaumigrem's addreſs.*

[x] Pinto, p. 286, & ſeq.

who

who having received them with laviſh promiſes of future favour, repaired immediately to Pegu, and was magnificently crowned in Kom-kiay, the principal temple in that city [y].

Shemîndoo grows ſtrong.

The Shemîn now was in peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom; but, by his acts of tyranny, and ſquandering the public treaſure, he ſo diſobliged his lords, and bred ſuch feuds among them, that many retired to foreign countries, and others went over to Shemîndoo; who, by his preaching and authority, began to make head again in the province of Anſedaa, whither he had fled. The power of this latter increaſing, as that of his competitor declined, his army, by degrees, increaſed to ſixty thouſand men. With theſe forces he marched to Meydoo, where he was well received by the people of the country; among whom he ſtayed four months, to ſtrengthen his forces. Mean while the great James Suarez, who had been governor of the kingdom during the late king's reign, fell a ſacrifice on the following occaſion.

Suarez his inſolence.

In the height of his former greatneſs, paſſing with a numerous equipage by the door of a rich merchant's houſe, on the day of his daughter's marriage, the father, to do Suarez honour, went out to pay his reſpects to him, accompanied by his daughter. On the bride's preſenting him a ring, Suarez, who was laſcivious and brutiſh, rudely pulled the young lady to him, in order to carry her away by force; and killed the bridegroom, with others who came to her reſcue. However, he did not enjoy the fruits of his villany; for the young lady, to prevent falling into ſuch a monſter's hands, ſtrangled herſelf. The father, expecting no juſtice againſt the criminal, whilſt that prince was upon the throne, ſhut himſelf up, and never ſtirred abroad, till the Shemîn of Zatan came to the crown; then appearing among the people, he ſo repreſented his caſe through the city of Pegu, that above fifty thouſand of the inhabitants gathered about him, crying out for juſtice. The Shemîn, fearing ſome worſe conſequence, cauſed de Melo to be apprehended, and delivered up to that rabble; who aſſaulting him with ſtones, he was in an inſtant buried under a heap of rubbiſh. Then withdrawing the body, they tore it in pieces, and delivered them to the boys to drag about the ſtreets. His houſe was plundered; and as the treaſure found therein did not amount to ſo much by a great deal as was expected, it was believed that he had buried the reſt.

He is ſtoned to death.

[y] Pinto, p. 287, & ſeq.

This

This was the end of James Suarez de Melo, one of fortune's prodigies, who loſt, by one crime, what he had gained by many. Nor did the new king, who gave him up to popular fury, long ſurvive him; for he grew intolerable in his cruelties and oppreſſions, killing and robbing indifferently all who were thought to have had money; ſo that, in ſeven months, he put to death ſix thouſand rich merchants, beſides many of the ancient lords of the country, who held their eſtates by right of inheritance under the crown. Theſe tyrannies rendered him ſo odious, that moſt of his followers abandoned him, to join with Shemîndoo; who, by this time, was maſter of the cities of Digon, Meydoo, Dalaa, and Kowlam, with all the country, as far as the borders of Sharau [z]. *The Shemîn's tyranny.*

Shemîndoo having now an army of two hundred thouſand men, and five thouſand elephants, reſolved to go and attack the uſurper in the capital. He began his march accordingly, and coming before the city of Pegu, ſurrounded it in with trenches, fenced with ſtrong paliſades. He afterwards gave ſeveral aſſaults; but finding a much greater reſiſtance than he expected, he propoſed a truce, by which he agreed to quit his right to the crown, and raiſe the ſiege in twenty days, if in that time his competitor ſhould ſend him a thouſand biſſes of gold, which amount to five hundred thouſand ducats. This was a politic contrivance, in order to gain the capital with leſs difficulty; for an intercourſe enſuing, in conſequence of the truce between the beſiegers and the beſieged, ſome prieſts, ſet on by Shemîndoo, exhorted them to relinquiſh the Shemîn of Zatân, and take part with their maſter; at the ſame time threatening them with judgments from Kiay Nivândel, the god of Battles, in the field of Vitân, in caſe they offered to lift a hand againſt the holy Shemîndoo. *Is beſieged by Shemîndoo, and ſlain in a ſally.*

Theſe exhortations and menaces ſo intimidated the hearts of the beſieged, that ſixty thouſand having deſerted in a few days, the tyrant thought fit to break off the truce; and by advice of his officers, to fight Shemîndoo before he increaſed more in ſtrength. Purſuant to this advice he marched out of the city with eighty thouſand men, and charged the enemy with great fury. The battle was ſo fierce, that in half an hour above forty thouſand fell on both ſides; when Gonzalo Neto, by a fortunate ſhot with a muſket-ball, killed the Shemîn. Immediately his forces

[z] Pinto, p. 289. & ſeqq. De Faria, vol. iii. p. 260. 360.

submitted, and the inhabitants opened the city gates to the victor, on promise of having their lives and effects. Shemîndoo entered the capital, and was immediately crowned
A.D 1551. king. This event happened in February, 1551. Gonzalo had ten thousand crowns for that lucky blow; and the eighty Portuguese, his companions, shared among them five thousand [a].

Shemîndoo enthroned. Shemîndoo was the reverse of his late rival, for he governed with a just but easy reign. He was loved by the people, and admired by strangers, for his virtue. Things continued above a year in this peaceable and happy state, when a new war broke out, which once more overturned the government. The Chaumigrem, who watched at Tângu for an opportunity to reduce the kingdom under the power of the Barmas, understanding by his spies that the strength of the nation was greatly exhausted by the wars; that the principal lords were either slain or had left the realm; and that, in short, the new king was unprovided of the necessaries proper for his defence, he, with an army of three hundred thousand men, all strangers (L), excepting fifty thousand Barmas, whom he had raised for the purpose, departed from Tângu the 9th of March,
A.D. 1552. 1552, and bent his march towards the city of Pegu. The new king informed of his motions, made preparations for his defence, and assembled no fewer than nine hundred thousand troops; but as they were all Peguers, who are of a weakly constitution, this great power was inferior to the enemy in strength. However, Shemîndoo understanding that the Chaumigrem had arrived at the river Meleytay, about twelve leagues from his capital, he advanced with great diligence, and encamped two leagues from thence on the river Potareu.

Is defeated and flies. Next morning the Chaumigrem forded the river, in spite of the enemy, and the day following the Shemîndoo offered him battle. The vanguards began the fight, and the shock was very fierce. In half an hour the field was covered with dead bodies, and the Peguers began to lose courage. The prince, seeing them give ground, advanced to succour them with three thousand elephants, and drove the Barmas back in their turn. The Chaumigrem now feigned a retreat, and the king mistaking it

[a] Pinto, p. 294, & seq.

(L) Viz. Mons, Chaleus, Kalaminhans, Sauanis, Pamkrus, and Avaas.

for

for a flight, purſued eagerly, as ſure of the victory; but the Barmas, after they had retired about a mile, ſuddenly faced about, and ruſhed on their enemies with horrible cries. Preſently both armies engaged again with ſuch fury, that towards ſun-ſet, four hundred thouſand Peguers being ſlain, and moſt of the reſt wounded, the king fled. Thus the victory remaining with the Chaumigrem, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Pegu in the field of battle, in April, 1553[b]. A.D. 1553. *Chaumigrem crowned.*

Next morning the victors riſled the dead, and got very rich ſpoil; for it is the cuſtom with theſe Gentiles to carry with them all their riches when they go to war. After this action the new king marched towards the capital, three leagues diſtant, and encamped in view of it, half a league off, in the plain of Sunday Patir. From thence he ſent a Barma commander, with five thouſand horſe as a guard, to each of the twenty-four gates, and continued five days in the field without entering the city. This ſtep he took, leſt the ſtrangers ſhould demand the pillage of it, purſuant to his promiſe at Tângu. Hereupon the foreign troops mutinied, by the inſtigation of Chriſtonano Surnento, a brave but turbulent Portugueſe commander. The king, for greater ſecurity, retired to a temple, and fortified himſelf. Next day, aſſembling the commanders, he told them from the wall, that he had promiſed them what he he could not in conſcience grant, as it would be to make the innocent ſuffer with the guilty; that, however, as it was not fit they ſhould go unrecompenced, he was willing to make them any reaſonable ſatisfaction, and would contribute part out of his own effects. With this propoſal the commanders declared themſelves content; and it was agreed to leave the matter to arbitrators, three to be choſen on each ſide. Of theſe ſix three were to be religious men of Pegu, and three ſtrangers. The firſt three being agreed upon, the king and mutineers caſt lots, to determine who ſhould chooſe two of the three ſtrangers; and the lot falling in favour of his majeſty, he choſe two Portugueſe; one Gonzalo Pacheco, factor for the lakka; and the other Nuno Fernandez Texeira, a worthy merchant, known formerly to the Chaumigrem. *His army mutiny.*

On this occaſion the king wrote to Pacheco, who, on receipt of the letter, immediately repaired to the camp, accompanied with Texeira, and ten other Portugueſe. They were received with great honour by the king, who, *Their demands ſettled by arbitration.*

[b] Pinto, p. 295, & ſeq.

in his inſtructions, ordered them to favour the commanders rather than him. The arbitrators met in a tent, with the high treaſurer and two ſecretaries. After debating near the whole day, it was at length concluded, that the king ſhould pay the foreign troops, over and above their arrears, a thouſand biſſes, or crowns, out of his own treaſury; and that, on receiving the ſame, they ſhould forthwith croſs the river, and retire into their reſpective countries, furniſhed with victuals for twenty days. Both parties were ſatisfied with this award; and the king, out of his bounty, gave the officers in general a farther gratuity. In this manner the king got rid of the three mutinous nations, the Chaleus, Meleytes, and Savâdis, whom he would employ no longer. To prevent their doing miſchief to the open towns in the road, he cauſed them to march in parties of a thouſand men each, one after the other. To his two arbitrators for their trouble, the king gave ten biſſes of gold, with a paſſport written by himſelf, whereby the Portugueſe were permitted to retire into the Indies without paying any duty for their merchandizes. This permiſſion was more acceptable to them than the money; becauſe the preceding king had, for three years before, detained them in the country, where they were treated with much rigour, and often in danger of their lives [c].

The king's triumph. Next day the king moved towards the city. He was received at the gate by ſix thouſand prieſts, of all the twelve ſects, who intreated that he would forgive the inhabitants; who, on promiſe of pardon, fell proſtrate before him. Then one of the prieſts ſet on the king's head a crown of gold, like a mitre, adorned with precious ſtones. After this ceremony the Chaumigrem entered the city, mounted on a large elephant, preceded by all the ſpoil of elephants and chariots, with the effigies of Shemîndoo, bound with an iron chain, and forty colours trailed on the ground. He was guarded by forty macemen, the lords and commanders marching on foot, with their ſwords covered with plates of gold, carried on their ſhoulders. The train was cloſed by three thouſand war elephants, with their caſtles in various forms, and followed by multitudes of people.

Shemîndoo taken. The firſt ſtep which the new king took was to get poſſeſſion of the principal cities and ſtrong-holds, which ſtill held out for Shemîndoo, as not knowing yet of his defeat. To this purpoſe he wrote very kind letters to the

[c] Pinto, p. 297, & ſeq.

inhabitants,

inhabitants, promising favour, as well as forgiveness, and an exemption from taxes. This method having had the desired effect, he dispatched horsemen in quest of Shemindoo, who was discovered at Faulau, a place near the city of Potem, on the frontiers of Arrakan. He was carried to court by a man, to whom the king gave a pension of thirty thousand ducats. He was brought into the presence chained, and falling prostrate, received several taunting expressions from the conqueror without speaking; at last he spoke, lamenting his condition, and then desired some water to drink. The king, to afflict him the more, ordered it to be given to him by his daughter. The miserable Shemîndoo, seeing his beloved child now a slave, who but a little time before was to have been married to the prince of Nautir, the king of Ava's son, fell into a swoon; while the princess, by her words and behaviour, expressed the utmost distress. This moving scene having drawn tears from some of the Pegu lords, who were formerly of Shemîndoo's party, the king ordered their heads to be cut off; saying, that since they had such great affection for him, they might go before and prepare him a lodging. Not content with this cruelty, he ordered the princess to be killed in the arms of her father, who was then carried to a close prison [d].

Treated with cruelty.

Next morning the Shemîndoo was led, amidst a numerous guard, through all the principal streets of Pegu, mounted on a wretched horse, with the executioner on the crupper behind, holding him up under both arms. He was very meanly dress't, and on his head they had placed a crown of straw, garnished with muscle-shells, fastened with blue ribbons; and, to the iron collar which he had about his neck, were tied a parcel of onions. When he came to the place where Pacheco was on guard, with a hundred other Portuguese, one of them reviled him; saying, he intended to sup on a piece of his flesh, and invite two dogs to partake with him. The prince, moved at this insult, reproved him with a severe countenance; on which Pacheco commanded the fellow to be silent. The Shemîndoo was so well pleased with this action, that he wished to live only one hour longer, that he might embrace so excellent a faith as the Portuguese professed. The executioner was so offended at this declaration, that he hit the unfortunate prisoner in the face, and made his nose bleed. Being come to the fatal place, and mounted,

Led thro' the city and executed.

[d] Pinto, p. 300, & seq.

ſcarce alive, on a high ſcaffold, the chirka of juſtice read his ſentence; and then making a ſign with his hand, the executioner ſevered his head from the body at one ſtroke. The head being held up for the people to view it, the corpſe was cut into eight parts. They were all covered with a yellow cloth, which is the mourning colour, and left till evening, in order to be viewed; for the king had cauſed this public execution to be done that all doubt might be taken away of the Shemîndoo's death.

Farce acted at his funeral.

Multitudes flocked to the place, both to behold the ſight, and receive the aſhiperan, or plenary indulgence, given by the prieſts on that occaſion. At three o'clock a bell was heard toll five times. On this ſignal twelve men in black robes, ſpotted with blood, having their faces covered, and ſilver maces on their ſhoulders, came out of a houſe near the ſcaffold, followed by twelve prieſts; after whom came the Shemîn Pokâſſer, the king's uncle, who ſeemed near a hundred years of age, and, in the name of his nephew, with much ceremony, aſked forgiveneſs of the divided members for what had been done; offered to yield up the kingdom to him, to do him homage for it, and govern it as his deputy. To this addreſs one of the prieſts, ſpeaking in the perſon of the deceaſed, anſwered, that ſince the king confeſſed his fault, he forgave him; and alſo granted him power to govern in his ſtead, according to the rules of juſtice. This farce being over, the prieſts removed the carcaſe to a place below, and burnt it in a fire made of odoriferous wood, offering ſacrifices of ſheep and other animals. The aſhes of Shemîndoo were put in a ſilver urn, and buried in a ſumptuous tomb, within a gilded chapel [e].

Chaumigrem's hiſtory very imperfect.

Certain it is the Chaumigrem, or Mandaragri, the ſecond Barma king, by the death of the Shemîndoo, became maſter of all Pegu without a competitor: but although he lived a long time, and was the moſt powerful of all the princes who reigned in that country, yet we meet with ſcarce any thing in travellers relating to his exploits. Cæſar Frederic, who was at his court in the year 1567, deſcribes his power and magnificence; yet takes little notice of the tranſactions of his reign, not even mentioning his name. No more do Gaſpar Balbi and Ralph Fitch, who were at Pegu the year in which he died. So that our readers muſt be content with a bare enumeration of his conqueſts.

[e] Pinto, p. 302, & ſeq.

We

We are told that Chaumigrem, not satisfied with the people of his capital Pegu, built, not far from it, another great and strong city (M). He afterwards raised an army of one million six hundred thousand men, with which power he over-ran many neighbouring kingdoms; but his conquests were interrupted by another rebellion which broke out in Pegu. On this occasion the queen was forced to fly to the castle, chiefly relying on thirty-nine Portuguese, who defended her till his majesty returned, and vanquished the rebels [f].

Many kingdoms conquered by him.

According to De Faria y Sousa, this prince so far enlarged his dominions by conquests, that they extended to China and Tartary, and was sovereign of twenty-four great kings, besides eighty princes, not inferior to kings; so that Pegu became the most powerful monarchy in Asia, excepting that of China. The conquered kingdoms were as follow: Kavelam, from whence came the rubies and sapphires; the kingdom of Ava [g], containing mines of copper, lead, and silver, which we are told was the ancient dominion of the Barma monarchs; the kingdom of Bakkan, where there are many gold mines; the kingdom of Tangram, which abounds with lead and lak; the kingdom of Prom, yielding the same commodities; Jangoma, a kingdom stored with copper, musk, pepper, silk, gold, and silver; the kingdom of Lawran, which produces great quantities of benjamin; the kingdoms of Trukon, from whence came the China wares; the kingdoms of Kablan, which, we are told, lie near Ava, towards China, and abound with precious stones; and finally, the kingdom of Siam and Laos. This is all the account we meet with of his wars, excepting that of Siam, which De Faria ascribes to Pranjinoko, this king's successor, and the last of the Barma race in Pegu [h].

Invades Siam.

According to Cæsar Frederic, the king of Pegu, for the reduction of the empire of Siam, raised an army of one million four hundred thousand men. With this prodigious force he began his march by land, in the year 1565, and was four months in his way to the capital city of the same

[f] De Faria, p. 137. [g] Pimenta ap Purch. vol. ii. p. 1746.
[h] Da Cruz, ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 168.

(M) This doubtless is to be understood of the new city of Pegu, on the other side of the river, opposite to the old. It was finished while Cæsar Frederic was at Pegu, in 1567, about the time when the king returned from the war of Siam.

name. He lay twenty-one months before the place, in which time he loſt a great number of men. After his departure a reinforcement was ſent him of five hundred thouſand men, to ſupply the place of thoſe who were killed in the firſt attacks. After all the city was taken by treachery; one of the gates having been opened in the night, through which the king, with great difficulty, forced his way. When the emperor found he was betrayed, and that his enemy was maſter of his capital, he poiſoned himſelf. His wives and children, friends and noblemen, who did not fall in the action, were all carried captives to Pegu by the conqueror[i].

Neither Cæſar Frederic nor De Faria, tells us the occaſion of this war; but Linſchoten informs us, that it was undertaken on account of a white elephant, which the king of that country had in his poſſeſſion. The Pegu monarch, who held that animal to be in its nature holy, and even made his ſupplications to it, ſent an ambaſſador to intreat it of the Siamite, offering to pay for it whatever price he ſhould demand. As the king of Siam refuſed, on any terms, to part with the elephant, which he no leſs eſteemed than the ſovereign of Pegu, the latter reſolved to obtain by force what he could not get either by intreaties or money. From the time of this expedition the king of Pegu aſſumed the title of king of the white elephant, and would ſuffer none of his neighbours to keep any of that kind.

Expedition againſt Arrakan.

Whether the conqueſt of Siam was the laſt this monarch atchieved, we know not: but, in 1581, we find he attempted that of Arrakan, the only kingdom bordering on Pegu which remained unſubdued. For this expedition he fitted out one thouſand three hundred ſail of barks, and ſent them under the conduct of the prince his ſon. In their way they met with two Portugueſe galliots, commanded by Gonſalo Vaz de Camoens; and the prince of Pegu, being deſirous to take them, ſent ſixteen of his beſt ſailing barks to attack them. After a ſharp engagement, wherein three ſhips were diſabled, and eighteen cannon taken, with ſome priſoners, the Portugueſe, ſeeing the whole multitude bear down upon them, retreated into the port of Arrakan; and thus fruſtrated the intended invaſion, as hath been already mentioned in the hiſtory of Arrakan[k].

[i] Frederic ap. Hackl. vol. ii. p. 229.

[k] De Faria, vol. ii. p. 379.

In

In the year 1560, Don Conſtantine de Braganza, viceroy of Goa, having taken the city of Jafana-patan, in the iſland of Seylan, commonly called Ceylon, and Zeylon, found an idol, which was adored through all the neighbouring coaſts of Aſia, whoſe inhabitants flocked thither daily in pilgrimage; and ſo highly eſteemed by the princes of thoſe parts, particularly the king of Pegu, that he every year ſent thither ambaſſadors with rich preſents. This ſo much worſhipped relic was nothing but the tooth of a white monkey[1]: however, it was ſuppoſed, by its adorers, to have belonged to one of their ſubaltern deities, the famous Anamonte, or Hanimant; who, in the form of an ape, did ſo much ſervice in Seylan for the god Wiſhnu, and is his wahanam, or war-horſe. *Ape's tooth worſhiped, taken and burnt.*

The king of Pegu, as ſoon as he heard that the viceroy had the tooth in his poſſeſſion, ſent to offer him three hundred thouſand ducats for it; and it was not doubted but his zeal would have extended as far as a million, in caſe the bargain had been well managed. Moſt of the Portugueſe were for taking the money: but it being reſolved, in a meeting of the chief clergy and laity, that it ſhould not be ſold, Don Conſtantine, in the preſence of them all, ordered it to be beaten to duſt is a mortar, and then thrown into the fire.

The year 1564, the king of Pegu being told by aſtrologers that he was to marry a daughter of the king of Kolumbo, in the iſland of Seylan, ſent to demand her. Thoſe aſtrologers, it ſeems, were no conjurers, for the king of Kolumbo had no daughter. But as his chamberlain had one, whom the king eſteemed as his own, they agreed to impoſe her on the Pegu monarch, as if ſhe really was the king of Kolumbo's. The chamberlain, in order farther to oblige the Barma king, with a view by his aſſiſtance to ſhake off the Portugueſe yoke, gave an ape's tooth in dowry with the bride impoſed on him; pretending that it was the ſame which the Portugueſe had taken at Jafanapatan. The ambaſſadors took the bride and the tooth away, keeping it as a great ſecret from the Portugueſe. On their arrival in Pegu, the king received the lady firſt, and then the ſpurious relic, with the greateſt pomp imaginable. The galley which carried the queen was covered with plates of gold, and *A counterfeit tooth impoſed on the king.* A.D. 1564.

[1] De Faria, p. 207, & ſeqq.

rowed

rowed by beautiful young women, richly dreſt, and trained to this exerciſe.

Magnificent works of this monarch.

Chaumigrem was not only the greateſt hero, but the moſt magnificent among the Pegu kings. With the ſpoils of other countries he enriched his own, and employed a great part of his acquired wealth in erecting public works. The chief of theſe was the new city of Pegu, in which he built a ſplendid palace. The cielings of ſome apartments were covered with gold; and others contained ſtatues of gold and ſilver, ſome of a coloſſal ſize. Many rooms contained ſtatues of kings and queens, as big as the life, all of maſſy gold, and adorned with precious ſtones of great value. He likewiſe cauſed three hundred and ſixty-ſix kombalengas to be caſt in gold. Theſe are wedges, in the form of ſugar-loaves, each weighing about forty pounds.

His death.

Chaumigrem, or Mandaragri, died in the year 1583, after he had reigned thirty years, reckoning from the death of Shemîndoo.

Wives and ſons.

This prince, according to Cæſar Frederic, had only one wife, but above three hundred concubines, by whom he was reported to have had ninety children. However, we meet with no account of any of them, either from him or other authors, excepting the ſon who ſucceeded to the crown.

Flouriſhing ſtate of Pegu.

He was ſucceeded, about the middle of the year 1583, by his ſon, then fifty years of age. Pegu was in the moſt flouriſhing condition imaginable, famous for its wealth, and dreaded for its power, when this prince aſcended the throne: but by his tyranny and obſtinacy, he, by degrees, loſt all his father had gained, and at length brought both himſelf and the empire to deſtruction [m].

He had been ſcarce two months in poſſeſſion of the crown, when he ſet out from his capital with all his forces, againſt his uncle the king of Ava, who was his tributary. This prince, being the oldeſt among thoſe of the blood, imagined that he only had a right to the empire; and therefore, when Pranjinoko aſcended the throne, he neither came to pay him homage, nor ſent the uſual preſent of jewels. He even prohibited his merchants from carrying precious ſtones into Pegu, ſo that a ſtop was put to the jewel trade: and, in ſhort, ſecretly endeavoured to engage the Peguan nobility in a conſpiracy to dethrone their ſovereign. The king of

[m] De Faria, vol. iii. p. 361.

Pegu

Pegu diſſembled his reſentment for a time; and as his father had, at his death, enjoined him to preſerve a good underſtanding with his uncle, reſolved to try what could be done by gentle methods.

The king of Ava corrupts the nobles.

With this view he ſent an officer of his court to the king of Ava, to know the reaſon why he had not come to pay him homage; and alſo why he ſuffered no jewels to be carried to Pegu. The king of Ava, relying on the aſſiſtance of the Peguan grandees, inſtead of returning his nephew an anſwer, put to death his envoy; and the king of Pegu, thinking all obligations of affinity were cancelled by ſo atrocious an affront, immediately declared war againſt him. But as he knew that he was not well beloved by his ſubjects, and that the greater part of his nobles, who were in his uncle's intereſt, ought not to be truſted by him, he reſolved to get rid of them, before he took the field [n].

Four thouſand burnt at once.

To compaſs this deſign, he ſent for them, under pretence of conſulting them about affairs of ſtate; and, as they arrived, they were handcuffed and impriſoned. When they had been all ſecured, he ordered their wives and children to be ſeized, not excepting women with child, and ſucking infants. Next morning he cauſed a large ſcaffold to be built, on which the priſoners, to the number of four thouſand (M) being mounted, were all burnt alive. To ſtrike the greater terror by this dreadful execution, the inhabitants, both of the old and new city of Pegu, were, by proclamation, commanded to attend.

The king marches againſt Ava.

As ſoon as the execution was over, the king ſent for all the other commanders into his preſence, and exhorted them, from the example which they had ſeen made of traitors, to be loyal; and alſo to aſſemble, without delay, ſuch a body of forces as might aſſure him of victory. This ſpeech had ſo powerful an effect, that in a few days upwards of three hundred thouſand men encamped without the walls. In a few days, the king appeared on a white elephant, covered with gold and jewels [o].

He left, as regent in the capital during his abſence, prince Maupa Râjah, his eldeſt ſon, with the great Bar-

[n] Balbi Viag. p. 105 & 112. [o] Balbi, p. 108, 112.

(M) Pimenta writes that however, with their wives, only forty noblemen were put children, friends, and famito death on this occaſion, lies.

ma

ma (N), and then began his march in the beginning of April. In his route he fell ill of the small-pox, which is looked on as peſtiferous in Pegu. However he had the good fortune to eſcape that danger; and as ſoon as he recovered, attacked his competitor. While the armies were fiercely engaged, the two kings met, and fought hand to hand, firſt with muſkets, then with darts, and at laſt with ſwords. The combat had continued doubtful a conſiderable time, when the Pegu elephant happened to break his right tooth in attacking that of Ava. This beaſt, enraged with pain, ruſhed on his antagoniſt a ſecond time, with ſuch advantage to the king of Pegu, as gave him an opportunity to kill his uncle; who did not fall altogether unrevenged, for he wounded his nephew, though but ſlightly, in the arm; at the ſame time the elephant of the latter dropped down dead under him; but he immediately mounted his uncle's: and as ſoon as the forces of Ava perceived their king was ſlain, they inſtantly left off fighting, and ſubmitted to the king of Pegu; who ſpared their lives. It was reckoned that two hundred thouſand of his forces were ſlain, and not many leſs of the Avan army.

Ava city razed. After this victory, he ſent a body of troops to the city of Ava, who razed it to the ground, and made the inhabitants priſoners. The queen, as the king of Pegu's ſiſter, was allowed a palace to live in, with a numerous attendance; but was obliged to confine herſelf to its limits, without ever ſtirring abroad. Six days after the battle, which was fought the 14th of July, the king returned unexpectedly to his capital.

Invades Siam. While he was on this expedition, the ſon of the emperor of Siam, under pretence of coming to his aſſiſtance, arrived at the old city of Pegu, with thirty war elephants, and eight hundred horſemen. The great Barma directed him to follow the king towards Ava; but inſtead of taking that route, he returned home. The king of Siam, pretending to take offence that the Barma general, whom he called a ſlave, ſhould preſume to give an anſwer to the prince his ſon, ſent Pranjinoko word, that he would no longer acknowlege him as his ſuperior. Provoked by this declaration, the Pegu monarch ſent a powerful army to invade Siam, under the command of the great Barma:

(N) By the Great Barma is to be underſtood the chief general of his army.

but

but after losing a great number of men before the capital, that general was forced to retire.

Next year, the king himself headed an expedition into Siam, with an army of three hundred thousand men, and three thousand elephants. He arrived with his army in the neighbourhood of the city of Siam towards the beginning of the year; and was amused with offers of submission, in order to protract the time till March; when the river of Siam overflowing its banks, like the Nile, soon laid the enemy's camp under water: so that, out of all that multitude, scarce seventy thousand returned to Martavân, and all the horses and elephants perished. *His army destroyed.*

The king of Pegu, having made another effort against Siam, which proved as unsuccessful as the last, sent thither his brother the king of Jangoma, who was defeated by the Black Prince, the king of Siam's eldest son, and two hundred thousand of his forces were cut to pieces. When Chaumigrem conquered Siam, in 1567, he carried with him to Pegu the king's two sons, who were educated at his court. Some years after, he gave them leave to return to Siam. The eldest, called Râjah Api, or *the Fiery Prince*, and by the Portuguese, the Black Prince, did great service against the enemy in their repeated invasions. The second, named the White Prince, was king of Siam after the death of his brother. *Other fruitless invasions.*

Pranjinoko, rather provoked than discouraged by these defeats, sent his son Maupa Râjah, king of Martavân, with a formidable army, which committed great devastations in the country of Siam, through which it marched; but after losing half his forces, he was obliged to return, without reducing the king to obedience. The Pegu monarch, resolved to make a last effort, raised an army of one million seven hundred thousand men, and once more gave the command of them to his son Maupa Râjah, with the title of king of Siam. At the report of this formidable power all Siam trembled, excepting the Black Prince, now king, who met the enemy, and gave them battle. At length the two kings encountering on their elephants, fought, and Maupa Râjah was cast dead to the ground. At this sight his men fled, and the Siamites pursued them for a month, in which time they destroyed the greater part of that vast army. This event happened about the year 1590. Balbi, who saw and spoke to this prince, says, he was large of stature, and brown, like the king his father; but very courteous and obliging. *The prince killed.*

Pran-

The king's tyranny.

Pranjinoko, enraged at the death of this prince, made great preparations for three years together; designing to carry with him to the wars all the inhabitants of Pegu, who were able to bear arms. The people abandoned themselves to despair; and, to avoid this oppression, some became talapoys, or friars, others fled to woods and deserts, and many sold themselves for slaves. The king ordained by proclamation, that all who had made themselves talapoys, should quit that profession, and return to a secular state; that the young men should be compelled to serve in the wars, and the old should be banished into the country of the Barmas: but he afterwards exchanged them for horses. He commanded likewise, that all the Peguers should be branded in the right hand, that so every man's name, country, and condition, might be known.

The Peguers rebel in several provinces.

The Peguers, provoked to see themselves thus opprobriously treated, began to rebel. The citizens of Kosmi, or Kosmin, first elected a king to oppose this tyranny. Against them Pranjinoko sent an army, which destroyed all the country, and brought away many prisoners, whom he caused to be burned. They who had fled to the woods were forced by famine to yield to his mercy; and he put them all to death with exquisite torments. The next act of his fury was against the kingdom of Ava: he commanded his son, who was its governor to bring all the inhabitants of that province into the kingdom of Pegu, which was then depopulated. The son obeyed, and transplanted the Avans: but, the air not agreeing with their constitutions, they became afflicted with boils, and several other diseases; which also infected the natives, many of whom, to avoid the pain, threw themselves into the river. Mean while some of the Peguers had, by the help of the Siamites, got the castle of Murmulan into their possession. The king, on this advice, sent thither forces, which besieged that fortress for a whole year together: but the Siamese troops, coming on them unexpectedly, defeated his army with great slaughter. That part of the country being thus reduced under the enemies power, many Peguan
A.D. 1594. lords fled to them, whose wives, children and families, Pranjinoko, with his usual cruelty, utterly destroyed with fire and sword; so that the whole tract, from the city of Pegu, to Martavân and Marmulan, became a wilderness.

The prince rebels.

Whilst the siege of that place was going on, he sent for his son, the viceroy of Prom, who imagined it was to be declared his successor, in prejudice to his elder brother, the prince of Ava; but when he found it was to go to the

the siege of Murmulan, he would fain have avoided the service. His father, being angry, ordered him to salute his brother, and be gone. The prince of Prom, instead of obeying the king's command, returned in his ships to Prom, and raised a rebellion. The king of Siam, taking advantage of these distractions, invaded Pegu, and laid siege to the capital, in which were then numbered a hundred and fifty thousand Peguers, Barmas, and others, with three thousand pieces of cannon, one thousand of them brass. The siege continued from January to April, 1596, when the king of Siam raised the siege, with the loss of a hundred thousand men [q]. A grievous famine succeeding, the surviving inhabitants abandoned the city, except a few that remained with their sovereign. A.D. 1596. *Pegu besieged.*

Pranjinoko, thus deserted, sent his commands to the king or viceroy of Tangu, to gather in the harvest, then ripe, and embark it, with all the inhabitants, for Pegu. The viceroy of Tangu answered, that he would ship one half of each, and that either he, or his son, would set out along with them. The king, enraged to find his orders disputed, dispatched four principal lords to fetch him and the provisions by force; but the viceroy, instead of submitting to his sovereign's authority, put to death these commissioners; and having seized the ships, with the soldiers on board, by proclamation prohibited all intercourse with Pegu. Thus the famine increased to such a degree in the city, that the people killed and ate one another. Man's flesh was sold in the public shambles; parents abstained not from eating their children, and children devoured their parents. Even the women went about the streets with knives, looking out for such as were not able to resist them. At length the king caused the people in the city to be numbered; and finding that there were amongst them seven thousand Siamese, he caused them all to be slain, and the provision to be divided among the rest, who did not exceed thirty thousand in all, reckoning women and children. *Tangu revolts.* *Dreadful famine.*

After the king of Prom had stood out in rebellion for three years, he sent to submit to his father, and promised to bring the inhabitants of that city to the capital of Pegu. Upon this promise the king pardoned and sent him presents; but the chief minister of the prince, who had been the cause of his disobedience, apprehending that his head would atone for the crime, poisoned him, and assumed the A.D. 1597. *The prince poisoned.*

[q] Pimenta, ubi supra, p. 747.

govern-

government. Seven days after his uſurpation, he was killed by the grandees; and they, aſpiring to the ſame dignity one after another, ſo waſted the people by civil war, that in two months, out of fifty thouſand men, ſcarce fifty remained, who, repairing by water to Pegu, left Prom for a habitation to wild beaſts. The kingdom was thus almoſt exhauſted of people.

Jangoma in motion.

In the mean time the talipoys, who hated Pranjinoko for his tyranny, adviſed his brother, the king or viceroy of Jangoma, to uſurp the throne. He was at this time ſo powerful that he could bring three hundred and fifty thouſand men into the field.

The king's treaſures.

The treaſures of the Pegu monarch at this time, though ſo much weakened in his power, were thought to be immenſe; among which were the ſixty-ſix kombalengas, and ſixty-ſeven ſtatues of gods, adorned with jewels, made by his father's order: theſe, however, were hidden in the city, but in what place nobody could tell; and it is ſaid that he put to death two hundred eunuchs, to prevent their making a diſcovery.

A.D. 1598.

He is beſieged, and ſurrenders.

The kingdom of Pegu was reduced to one city, and that almoſt wholly deſtroyed, when the Mogo king of Arrakan, in the beginning of the year 1598, came and beſieged it [*]: he was ſoon after joined by the regulo of Tangu, who had before thrown off his dependence. The king of Tangu, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place ſo long as Pranjinoko's forces continued firm, endeavoured to corrupt them by rewards, promiſing life, liberty, and eſtates to all who would come over to him. This policy had the deſired effect: the firſt who deſerted were the Portugueſe and Moors; they were followed by a natural ſon of the king.

At length the diſtreſſed king, finding himſelf no longer able to hold out, took the opportunity while the king of Arrakan was abſent, and delivered up himſelf and his city into the hands of the king of Tangu; from whom, as his brother-in-law, he expected good treatment, which was promiſed him; but this promiſe was not kept. As ſoon as the king of Tangu was poſſeſſed of the city and palace, he haſtened to the caſtle of Makao, where the treaſure was lodged, of which he found ſo vaſt a quantity, that ſix hundred elephants, and as many horſes, were ſcarce ſufficient to carry away the gold and jewels only; for he

[*] Pimenta, ubi ſupra, & apud Haies de Reb. Japan. & Indic. p. 747, & ſeq.

made

made no account of silver and other metals. The king of Arrakan being informed that the monarh of Tangu had, contrary to his agreement, taken all this treasure to himself, and dismissed the army without his knowlege, marched with his forces, among whom were the Portuguese commanded by Philip de Brito, in order to invade the country of Tangu.

The king of Arrakan found in the castle of Makao above three millions in silver, besides many excellent pieces of brass ordnance, which the king of Tangu had left behind; either being in haste to retreat before the other arrived, or not thinking it worth his attention to carry such inconsiderable booty away.

The king slain.

While the king of Arrakan, thus possessed of the crown of Pegu, was employed in conveying the treasure from Makao, the kings of Siam and Jangoma, joining their forces, suddenly invaded the king of Tangu, with design to strip him of the immense spoils which he had so lately acquired [t]. Neither Boues, nor any other author come to our hands, informs us what was the issue of this expedition of the two kings into Tangu. In all probability they did not succeed in their attempt: as to the king of Arrakan, after he had become master of Pegu, without any difficulty, he sent ambassadors to the king of Tangu, demanding part of the treasures which he had carried off, with the white elephant, and the king of Pegu's daughter: he likewise required, that the said king should either be delivered up to him, or put to death. These demands were complied with by the king of Tangu, who soon after caused the captive mother to be slain with a pestle, such as they pound their rice with; it being impious to shed the blood of those Asiatic princes.

Age and reign.

Pranjinoko, or Branjinoko, died in 1599, at the age of sixty-six. He was very fond of shewing himself to the people, contrary to the disposition of his father; for that reason he almost every day appeared in public, and when he passed through the city, suffered none to be turned out of the way, taking great pleasure to see and be seen by his subjects: on the same account he caused two pillars to be erected at the gate of his court to distinguish it, and on it was written, in large characters, that every person might enter without asking leave.

How he appeared in public audiences.

Balbi was at a public audience, to which he was sent for by the king, about some jewels which he had brought

[t] Boues apud Haies, ubi supra, p. 850. & Purch. p. 1748. De Faria, ubi sup.

to Pegu. The entrance of the palace was by two gates, one within the other, and between them were porticos, or open halls, one on each side, where the nobles waited for the king's appearance, whose approach was proclaimed by twelve silver trumpets. At this sound they all stood up, and, as soon as they saw the king, entered the second or inner gate, which led to the hall of audience; a very beautiful fabric, being all gilded over and enamelled with blue. The king was seated on golden cushions, with his wives beside him; behind him stood four little boys, or pages, to attend him. The lords in waiting, called najirans, stood before him to report matters to the king, and return his answers, as occasion required. His treasurers, with other principal lords, were on the left hand, and near him on the right was the prince Maupa Râjah, his eldest son, seated on a kind of platform. At the lower end of the hall were the nobility and great officers, ranged in order, according to their several degrees.

The king had in his hand a fan, which he kept in constant motion. High over his head were four gilded umbrellas, borne on the top of spears, which were also gilded and adorned with gold fringes of a great length. During the audience his elephants passed before him in review; four white elephants preceding the rest, when they came directly before the king, each of them, by way of doing him honour, raising his trunk, opened his mouth three times; after this salutation they kneeled down, then rising, walked to their stables.

Profound reverence paid by all.

As Balbi, with his interpreter, approached the king, they fell on their knees, with their hands lifted up in a suppliant manner, and kissed the ground three times before they rose again. This reverence, called rombi, they performed four times before they came to the steps of the place where his majesty was seated, so near him that he could distinctly hear his words, though he did not understand what was spoken. Then giving the emeralds to the interpreter, this latter held them over his head, and made the rombi. Immediately a najiran, making the same reverence, took the jewels, and having delivered them to the king, retired a few steps. Afterwards the same lord being ordered to ask our traveller some questions concerning his country and voyages, he took the answers down in writing, and read them to his majesty; who hearing that Venice was in Italy, and yet not governed by a king, seemed greatly surprised, and then laughed so heartily, that he was seized with a fit of coughing.

In

In the end he ordered a present to be given Balbi of a gold cup and five pieces of China damask, over and above the payment for his emeralds, with an exemption likewise of duty for his goods, by which he saved eight hundred ducats [w].

His children.

Pranjinoko had four sons; the first, called Maupa Râjah, was king of Martavân, and killed in the war of Siam 1590, as before related: the second, called Naydú, was king of Ava, and, after his brother's death, became heir to the crown. According to Jarric, he deserted his father during the siege, and was put to death by his aunt, the queen of Tangu: the third son was named Naymor, the same, we conjecture, who was regulo of Prom, and slain about 1597 [x]. The fourth is not named by Balbi, any more than the king himself.

Pegu subject to Arrakan.

After the death of this Barma king, Pegu, by the retreat of the king of Tangu, was left in the hands of the Arrakan monarch, as before mentioned, and annexed to that crown. Authors do not take notice how long it continued so, but it seems to have ceased about the year 1606, or 1607, at which time it probably fell into the hands of the king of Ava; at least, in 1613, we find that monarch leading an army through it, to the siege of Sirian, which he took from the Portuguese, as will hereafter be related.

Annexed to Ava, and so continues.

In 1619 or 1620, we read of a king of Pegu, who was also king of Ava, residing in the city of Pegu, at which time the affairs of that country began to be re-established. This king we are told, was nephew to his predecessor, and succeeded in prejudice to his children; likewise that he recovered the kingdom and city of Zangomay, or Jangomay, from the king of Siam, who had taken them from the former king. From this imperfect account we conjecture, that the prince who took Sirian, and the person who recovered Jangoma, were the same; and that he removed the royal seat from Ava to Pegu between the two expeditions. However that be, the English, by his encouragement, began a trade at Pegu in 1619, but, by the ill management of those employed, they were forced to abandon it almost as soon as it had commenced [y].

As to the predecessor of this king whether he was one of the sons of Pranjinoko, carried to Arrakan by

[w] Balbi Viag. p. 102. 109. [x] See Jarric, ubi sup. lib. iv. cap. 31. [y] See Method Ind. Obs. ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005, & seq.

Shelîmi Shâh, and set up by his assistance, or some other person of the Barma race, we cannot pretend to determine: neither does it appear when the royal seat was transferred from the city of Pegu to that of Ava, where it at present remains, and seems to have been fixed for above a century.

Proceedings of the Portuguese in Pegu.

WE meet with one reign more, which may be added to the rest, as, in effect, it is subsequent to them; and that is the reign of a Portuguese king or emperor of Pegu.

Sirian given to the Portuguese.

Shilîmi Shâh, king of Arrakan, in order to express his gratitude to the Portuguese who served him in his armies, bestowed on them the port of Sirian, at the request of Philip De Brito Nicote, who being raised from the station of a collier to the favour of that prince, soon after requited him with the basest ingratitude[z]. He likewise honoured him with the title of Chenga, or Shenga, which signifies *honest*.

This adventurer persuaded the king to erect a custom-house at the mouth of Sirian river, under pretence of encreasing his revenue; but, in reality, with design to seize on, and convert it into a fort, in order to secure the Portuguese a footing in Pegu, and facilitate the conquest of that kingdom. The work being finished, the king put it into the hands of Banna-dala, who began to fortify it; and being more jealous of the Portuguese than his master, would suffer none of that nation to enter the place, except a Dominican friar. De Brito, finding his design frustrated, resolved to seize the fort by force, before the works were too far advanced; and accordingly sent three officers with fifty men, to put his project in execution, presuming that he had credit enough with Shilîmi Shâh to get the possession of it confirmed.

De Brito's ingratitude.

The three captains so punctually performed Nicote's orders, that they gained the name of Founders of the Portuguese Dominions in Pegu. Banna-dala, apprised of their intention, attacked the enemy's factory first, and obliged them to quit it; but, at the same time they fled from thence, they assaulted the other's fort with such fury, that he was forced to retire to an island not far off; where he fortified himself with one thousand men, securing the

z De Faria, ubi supra, p. 127.

treasure

treaſure of the pagod of Digan, to maintain them. The king, being informed of theſe tranſactions, was much offended, and reſolved to ſupport Banna-dala: but De Brito had the art to diſſuade him from this purpoſe, repreſenting the other as a ſacrilegious robber, and offered to compoſe matters with the Portugueſe. The king conſented, and he went to Sirian; but, inſtead of putting a ſtop to the work, it ſtill advanced under his direction. When the fort was in a good poſture of defence, Nicote ſet ſail for Goa, in order to deliver it up to the viceroy, and ſolicit ſucceſſors, that he might become emperor of Bengâl. He likewiſe perſuaded each of the neighbouring princes, that if he would join the Portugueſe viceroy, he might eaſily aſcend the throne of Pegu: and on this encouragement, ſome of them ſent ambaſſadors to accompany him.

Scarce was Nicote gone, when Shilîmi Shâh became ſenſible of his overſight, and ſent down the river a fleet with ſix thouſand men under the command of Banna-dala. When near the fort, they were met by three veſſels, with only thirty Portugueſe on board, commanded by Salvador Ribeyro, chief of the three officers who had taken that place; yet in a little time he deſtroyed many of the enemy, took forty ſhips, and put the reſt to flight, without loſing one man [a].

The city beſieged.

The king of Arrakan, finding this was become a ſerious affair, in conjunction with the king of Prom, blocked up the place with one thouſand two hundred ſail by water, and forty thouſand men by land. Ribeyro, perceiving that they obſerved no order, fell on them with his handful of men, and killing the general, put the whole army to flight. Banna-dala aſſembling eight thouſand foot of this ſcattered army, ſat down the third time before the fort, lodging his men in good order; and having furiouſly battered the place for ſome time, in the dead of night ventured to give a fierce aſſault, but was repulſed with the loſs of above one thouſand men, whoſe bodies filled up the ditch. The enemy continued the ſiege eight months; and although ſome Portugueſe deſerted Ribeyro, yet, far from being diſmayed, he burnt the veſſels which were in the port, to take from the reſt all hopes of eſcaping. At length conſiderable ſuccours came from the viceroy Ayres de Saldanna, and many, covetous of honour or profit, reſorted thither; ſo that the commander finding

[a] De Faria, ubi ſupra, p. 127, & ſeqq.

himself eight hundred strong, resolved to attack the enemy in his works.

The enemy retire. Ribeyro put this design in execution with much conduct as well as bravery, and was received with equal intrepidity; but at last Banna-dala was forced to fly; and had the mortification to see all the works which he had raised in a year burnt to the ground. The Portuguese, thinking this success had secured their affairs in Pegu, dispersed, in order to reap the benefit of it by plundering; so that there remained with the captains no more than two hundred, who had been sent by the viceroy. The enemy, taking advantage of this opportunity, returned the fourth time, provided with several moving castles and fire-works; in short, the fort was reduced to great distress, when a fiery meteor so terrified the besiegers that they fled, leaving their castles a prey to the flames. The Portuguese then took the field, and marching against king Massinga (O), met his forces in the province of Kamelan, where they obtained a victory; killing him on the spot, and doing great mischief both by sea and land.

De Brito proclaimed king of Pegu. These signal advantages procured the Portuguese that security they so much sought after; for the natives, finding them not only victorious, but also obliging, flocked to them in great numbers; so that, in a few days, they found above twenty thousand ready to join them. These men, reflecting on the extraordinary success of Philip de Brito Nicote, joined to his natural good temper, which had procured him among them the name of Chenga, resolved to proclaim him king of Pegu; but being at that time absent, Ribeyro accepted of the crown in his name. Nicote afterwards arriving in person, received the kingdom in the name of his prince; and was the first Portuguese who rose to that pitch of fortune in Asia. He was succeeded in the command of the fort by Roderick Alvarez de Sequeyra, who bravely defended it till it accidentally took fire, and only the walls were left standing [b].

A.D. 1603. *Defeats the Tangu fleet.* Mean while Nicote was at Goa soliciting succours, and received six ships with men; for the viceroy, esteeming him for his great wealth and growing power, married him to a niece he had there, born of a Javan woman, and

[b] De Faria, p. 129, & seqq.

(O) Whether this prince was king of Kamelan, or Prom, does not appear from De Faria, who often leaves his readers at a loss on such occasions, which yet require explanation.

for

for her ſake could deny him nothing; he likewiſe conferred on him the title of commander of Sirian, and general of the Pegu conqueſt. At his return to Sirian the king of Arrakan himſelf ſent to compliment him on his arrival. Mean while he repaired the fort, and built a church at Sirian. As to the cuſtom-houſe, he, according to the viceroy's inſtructions, obliged all veſſels which traded to the coaſt of Pegu, to make their entries there, and compelled ſome ſhips of Choromandel to comply with his orders. Theſe proceedings revived in the king of Arrakan a reſolution to poſſeſs himſelf of that cuſtom-houſe, and with that view he ſent an ambaſſador to the king of Tangu, with twenty jalias, or ſmall ſhips, to join him in the expedition; but Nicote, being informed of this armament, ſent his ſmall craft, which defeated, and obliged them to fly to the king of Jangoma's country.

The enemy, thus exaſperated, collected ſeven hundred ſmall veſſels, with four thouſand men, under the command of the king of Arrakan's ſon, who was accompanied by Shimi Kolia and Markettam, ſons of the late emperor of Pegu. Theſe, however, were encountered and defeated by Paul del Rego Pinnero, who commanded ſeven ſhips with a number of armed boats. The prince ran up a river into a ſmall creek, where Pinnero ſeized all the reſt of his fleet, and obliged him to eſcape by land, after having loſt one thouſand men. Then he took the fort of Chinim, and in it many priſoners, among whom was the wife of Banna-dala. At this time Nicote was abroad with fourteen ſmall veſſels, in which were ſixty Portugueſe and two hundred Pegu men; he happened to run up the afore mentioned river, and hearing the prince was on ſhore with four thouſand men, nine hundred of them muſketteers, ventured to attack him. In the encounter Shimi Toto, a valiant native, attempting to ſeize the prince, was maimed; but happened at the ſame time to wound the prince in the face; an incident which occaſioned his being made priſoner, and gained the Portugueſe the victory. They likewiſe defeated two thouſand men ſent by the king of Prom, who arrived too late to join the other troops [e].

A.D. 1604.

Prince of Arrakan taken and ranſomed.

The Pegu ſoldiers, almoſt diſtracted to ſee their prince carried into captivity, would all have gone with him, ſtriving to get into the Portugueſe ſhips. Nor was De Brito behind them in expreſſions of duty; not forgetting that he

[e] De Faria, p. 131, & ſeqq.

had been a ſlave to the prince, now his priſoner, ſerved him with the ſame reſpect that he had ever ſhewn. He watched him while he was aſleep, holding his buſkins with arms acroſs, according to the cuſtom of thoſe countries, and attended him on all occaſions. This generous behaviour might have merited the title of Chenga, which was given him, had he not ſullied it by his avarice; for Shiſîmi Shâh, to redeem his ſon, thought proper to treat with Niçote; who, contrary to the viceroy's orders, which were to return the prince without ranſom, ſold him for fifty thouſand crowns; which he demanded on pretence of defraying the expences of the fleet, which the king had obliged him to equip.

A.D. 1605. *Portugueſe attacked.* The king of Arrakan, farther provoked at this mean rapacity, ſent a ſmall fleet againſt Sirian; which, though eaſily defeated, gave him an opportunity of enſlaving above a hundred thouſand converts to the Romiſh religion. The king of Tangu, being afterwards prevailed on to join him a ſecond time, beſieged the city by land, while Shiſîmi Shâh blocked it up by ſea with eight hundred ſail, in which were ten thouſand men. Paul de Rego met this fleet with eighty veſſels, and failing of his former ſucceſs, ſet fire to the powder, and blew himſelf up, A.D. 1606. rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The ſiege continued ſo long that the place was ready to ſurrender; when, on a ſudden, the king of Tangu retired by night, and the prince of Arrakan found it to no purpoſe to remain longer at ſea.

Spoils Tangu, Some of the neighbouring princes, ſtartled at this ſucceſs of De Brito, ſought his friendſhip, and an alliance with the king of Portugal. The firſt who entered into theſe engagements was his late enemy the king of Tangu, who, ſome time after, having been attacked by the king of Ava, was defeated, and became his tributary. The king of Martavân was another of Nicote's confederates, who, to ſtrengthen himſelf, married his ſon Simon to that prince's daughter. Thinking himſelf now in a condition to execute a long premeditated deſign of robbing the king of Tangu of the great wealth he had a few years before carried out of Pegu, he reſolved, in conjunction with the king of Martavân, to attack his territories; alleging in his defence, that ſince the treaty made with that king, he had been overcome by the ſovereign of Ava; as if the moſt idle pretence was ſufficient to juſtify the breach of faith. In ſhort, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the king of Tangu, and his proteſtations of continuing a faithful vaſſal

vaſſal to the crown of Portugal, De Brito took him priſoner; returning with him, and above a million of gold, to Sirian; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his perfidy [f].

This act of violence and injuſtice committed on the king of Tangu, highly provoked the king of Ava, under whoſe protection he enjoyed his dominion. Scarce had he heard the news, when caſting on the ground his gown and veil, he vowed to the idol Biay, worſhipped at Degun, that he would not enter within his gates till this injury was revenged. Reſolving to attack Sirian effectually, both by ſea and land, he equipped a fleet of four hundred ſtout veſſels, on board of which were above ſix thouſand of thoſe Moors of noted valour, called De Caparuça, or *who wear Caps*. At the ſame time he marched at the head of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, and, the moment he arrived before the place, ſet fire to every thing which he found without the walls. Although Nicote was at this time wholly unprovided, having ſuffered moſt of his men to go for India, yet he made a vigorous defence. What concerned him moſt was the want of powder; for he had been ſo imprudent as to ſet fire to a great quantity of it which he found at Tangu. In this diſtreſs he diſpatched a ſoldier to Bengâl to buy powder; but that ſervant ran away with the money. He likewiſe ſent for ſome to the city of St. Thomas, on the coaſt of Choromandel; but his friends there would not comply with his requeſt. A.D. 1613. *and is beſieged by the king of Ava.*

It is true, his troops might have been ſufficient to defend the place againſt the enemy, though ſo much ſuperior in numbers; for he had with him three thouſand Peguers, beſides a hundred Portugueſe: but as there was no firing of cannon without powder, they could not keep the beſiegers from the walls. All the reſiſtance they were able to make, was to annoy them by pouring down boiling pitch and oil from the battlements. De Brito, to try what could be done at ſea, ſent out three ſhips againſt the fleet; but this enterprize was attended with very ill ſucceſs; for in one of them all the men were ſlain, and the two others returned with all the people wounded. The enemy now began to undermine the works, and the beſieged exerted themſelves, but to very little purpoſe. At length, after the ſiege had laſted thirty-four days, Nicote ſent to implore mercy, but was not heard. He imagined he could prevail by means of the *He is taken and impaled.*

[f] De Faria, p. 138, & ſeqq.

king

king of Tangu, whom he had robbed of his crown, his riches, and liberty: but the king of Ava being reſolved to puniſh him, rejected every kind of application in his favour.

Mean while the king of Arrakan, more through jealouſy of that monarch's power, than in kindneſs to De Brito, who had ſo grievouſly offended him, ſent fifty ſail to his aſſiſtance; but they proved of no uſe to him, having all been taken by the beſiegers. At length the king of Ava gave the aſſault, and both parties fought for three days without intermiſſion. The iſſue of it was, that ſeven hundred of the beſieged having been ſlain, Nicote was betrayed by one Banna, whom he had always treated with diſtinction, and carried to the king of Ava, who immediately ordered him to be impaled. He lived two days in that dreadful miſery, and then expired.

His wife enſlaved.

His wife, De Luiſa de Saldanna, was kept three days in the river to be cleanſed, becauſe the king deſigned her for himſelf; but as ſhe exclaimed againſt him when brought into his preſence, he ordered her leg to be bored, and that ſhe ſhould be ſent to Ava among the other ſlaves. Francis Mendez, and a nephew of his, met with the fate of Nicote. The traitor Banna, demanding a reward, was torn in pieces; the king ſaying, that he could never be true to him, ſince he had betrayed the man who had done him ſo much honour. Sebaſtian Rodriguez was confined with a yoke about his neck. At firſt the king deſigned not to ſpare any of the inhabitants of Sirian; but growing calm, he ſent many of them ſlaves to Ava: then proceeding to Martavân, he obliged that king to kill his own daughter's huſband, that none of De Brito's race might remain.

As ſoon as the viceroy heard of the danger that Sirian was in, he ſent thither James de Mendez Fuſtado, with five gallies. This officer had orders to ſtrengthen himſelf in his paſſage with ſome ſhips and men; but he was not able to accompliſh his purpoſe, till he arrived at Martavân; where in the river, he found a fleet of twenty ſail. Theſe, after a ſharp engagement, fled, excepting four, which were taken, with ſome ſoldiers; by whom being informed of what had happened at Sirian, he ſaw it would be to no purpoſe to proceed farther, and therefore returned to Goa.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The Empire of Ava.

Description of the Country.

OUR informations, with regard to this great monarchy, are, in general, ſcanty and imperfect.

If Ava be little known, it is not becauſe it has never been viſited by Europeans; for the Portugueſe, Dutch, and other nations, have been often in that country, on account of war or commerce: but theſe are a ſort of people who have ſeldom either the curioſity or capacity to obſerve and write. We meet with only two journals of perſons who have travelled into Ava towards the end of the laſt century; and that not from the coaſt upwards, but through the continent downwards, from China. The firſt performed by four Chineſe, down the river which paſſes by Ava; the other by the Jeſuit Du Chatz, who travelled the ſame way, and has given a map of the courſe of that river from Ava to the ſea, in which are contained almoſt all his remarks; for he ſays very little concerning either the country or inhabitants. To theſe may be added ſome obſervations of Mr. Roger Aliſon, who had been twice ambaſſador from the governor of Fort St. George, or his agents at Sirian, to the court of Ava, about fifty years ago. *No travellers there.*

Theſe three pieces, joined to ſome ſcattered remarks found in Cæſar Frederic, Gaſpar Balbi, Gaſpar da Cruz, and ſome other early voyagers, are the principal funds from whence we draw our materials, which, therefore, our readers muſt not expect to be either very copious or ſatisfactory. *Materials ſcanty.*

Ava, or Awa, which ſome write with a ſtrong aſpirate Hava, may be conſidered either in a reſtrained ſenſe, as a ſingle kingdom, or in a more extended ſignification, as enlarged by the conqueſt of ſeveral other dominions; but in which ever ſenſe it be taken, we are not able to ſpeak with any certainty concerning its juſt bounds and dimenſions, eſpecially as to Ava as a particular kingdom: we only know, in general, that it lies encloſed with Jangoma or Siam on the eaſt, Pegu on the ſouth, and Arrakan on the weſt; what country lies to the north of it we are not informed by travellers. Mendez Pinto, in place of Ava, puts the kingdom *Ava kingdom.*

kingdom of Chaleu, whose capital he makes the city of Ava. He mentions also a city of the same name, which he places on the river Queytor, so he calls the river of Ava, between Prom and Ava. He likewise gives to the inhabitants the name of Chaleus[g]. This is all we can say touching the kingdom of Ava, properly so called.

Empire of Ava.

With regard to the extent of the empire of Ava, including the kingdom of Ava with its conquests, we are able to say something more precise. A late missionary tells us, that it is twice as big as France[h]. What we know in general is, that it is bounded on the west partly by the gulf of Bengâl, and partly by the kingdoms of Arrakan and Assem, from which last it seems to be separated by the great river of Arrakan; on the north by mountains dividing it from Tibet and China; on the east by the country of the Laos; and on the south by the kingdom of Siam and the gulf of Bengâl. It is situated between the 15th and 26th degrees of latitude, and between the 109th and 118th degrees of longitude; so that its length from south to north is about six hundred and sixty geometrical, or seven hundred and sixty-five English miles; and its breadth, from west to east, four hundred and ninety-four miles of the first kind, and five hundred and seventy-five of the second (Q).

Soil and produce.

The country of Ava, properly so called, is, in general, flat, especially near the great river. It is all fertile, producing rice, fruits, and variety of animals wild and tame, like Pegu. It has also mines of copper, lead, and silver[i]. Musk and rubies likewise come from thence to Pegu. As to the conquered countries lying to the north and east, excepting that of Jangoma, we know but little concerning them in any respect, not so much as their names. The best information we can give our readers is from the travels of four Chinese, in company with others, from the province of Yun-nan to Ava and Pegu, towards

[g] Pinto's Voyage, p. 136, 208, 214. [h] Du Chatz, ubi supra.
[i] Pimenta ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746.

(Q) Captain Hamilton, who sometimes calls this the kingdom of Barma, and says it lies about five hundred miles up the river of Pegu, gives it different dimensions. According to him, it reaches from Maravi, near Tanassérin, to the province of Yun-nan in China, and is about eight hundred miles long from north to south, and two hundred and fifty broad, from west to east. New Account of East Ind. vol. ii. p. 38, & seq.

the

the middle of the last century. Departing from the city of Jun-nan, capital of the province of the same name in the south-west of China, they went to Jun-cham, in the same province, in eighteen days; from thence to Tien-nio-theou in four, and in five more to the last village on the borders of Yun-nan and China, a fatiguing way, through woods full of tigers.

River Lukyang, or Menankiow.

At this village, where there is a custom-house and garrison, they embarked on a river more large and rapid than that of Siam, and in twenty days sailed down it to the city of Ava. The first four or five days were through a desert country; afterwards they daily met with one or two plantations on the river, whose inhabitants, dwelling in houses made of bambû canes, fled into the neighbouring woods at their approach. The journey may be performed by land, but not conveniently [k]. The name of the river, down which our Chinese passed, is not mentioned by them, but is doubtless that which in the Jesuits map is called Lu-kyang, because of its magnitude; there being no other in Yun-nan, on that side, so big as the river Siam, to which it is compared. This river rises a great way to the north of Yun-nan, in the country of Tibet, so that it may well be considerable, not only at the city of Ava, as Du Chatz says it is, but even in China itself, from whence its course seems to be first south-west, and then south.

From the city of Ava this great river, which is there called Menan Kiow, runs south-west to the city of Prom, about a hundred and forty leagues distant, from whence to Mero, another considerable city, its course is almost north and south. From Mero it turns off almost due eastward, and in that direction passes on to Sirian, the port of Ava and Pegu, eighty leagues distant from Mero, and near three hundred from Ava. Above Sirian it receives the river of Pegu, and below it, at ten leagus distance, falls into the sea. Along the river, from Ava downwards, the banks are furnished with villages, often better than the country towns in France, and not above a mile and half asunder. They sail in vessels as large as our biggest ships, though not a nail or peg is used in building them. They have only one sail, but it is much higher and broader than any which the greatest European vessels carry. The Chinese above mentioned were one month in their passage

[k] Gouye Obs. Math. &c. ap. Mem. Acad. ann. 1699, p. 399.

down

down it from Ava to Pegu; and from the first of those cities to Siam, it was fifteen easy days journey by land [l].

City of Ava. The capital of Ava, which bears the same name with the kingdom, is about as large as Rheims in France. The houses are high, and built of wood, and the streets as strait as a line, with trees planted on each side.

The palace. The king's palace is very large, and built of stone, yet the edifice is but mean; it has four gates, the eastern is called the Golden Gate, because all ambassadors who enter by it approach him with presents; the south gate is called the Gate of Justice, for those who bring petitions, accusations, or complaints to the king; the west is the Gate of Grace, through which all who have received favours, or been acquitted of crimes, go forth; and all condemned persons are carried to execution: the north gate, fronting the river, is the Gate of State, reserved for his majesty when he goes abroad, and by it all his provisions and water are carried into the palace [m].

Jewel-trade. The city of Ava is remarkable for having a great trade in musk and jewels, principally rubies and sapphires, so long ago as the time of Edoardo Barbosa, in 1516, who also observes that the inhabitants were excellent jewellers; and Methold says, the most esteemed rubies and sapphires were brought from thence [n]. This city has, no doubt, suffered many changes, by the wars and revolutions which have happened from time to time, particularly in 1583, when it was razed by order of the king of Pegu, after the rebellion of his uncle, and all the inhabitants were banished to the woods [o].

Other cities. There are other cities of Ava mentioned by authors, such as Bakan, Chaleu, and Prom, of which some account has been already given in the history of Pegu. Bakan was the capital of a kingdom conquered by Chaumigrem, second Barma king of Pegu; Prom was the metropolis of another small kingdom, which suffered greatly in the Barma wars; and Chaleu, we are told by Pinto, was both a city and a kingdom, of which last he makes Ava itself the capital.

[l] Gouye, ubi supra. vol. ii. p. 45, & seqq p. 114.

[m] Hamilt. New Account of East, Ind.

[n] Purchas, vol. v. p. 1017.

[o] Balbi.

Account

Account of the Inhabitants of Ava.

WHETHER the inhabitants of Ava were originally Barmas, or a different nation, authors do not afford us light enough to determine.

The Barmas, of what kinds.

The Barmas, called by some Baramas and Vermas, but mostly Bramas, as to their persons and dress have been already described in our account of Pegu. We shall only add from Da Cruz, that they have a great resemblance of the Chinese in their faces [p]; and some judge, from the great likeness which appears in their persons, and even their customs, that the inhabitants of all the Farther Peninsula of India are descended from the Chinese.

Their country and conquests.

These Barmas, according to Mendez Pinto, originally inhabited the hills or highlands which surround Pegu, containing a country about two hundred leagues in length, and eighty in breadth. From this territory they by degrees extended themselves over the neighbouring countries, sometimes gaining, at other times losing what they had conquered. About the year 1516, when Barbosa was in the Indies, the kingdom of Verma, as he terms it, extended along the coast from Bengâl southward, as far as Pegu, and Arrakan lay within land to the north of it: but not long after this period, they were driven out of the maritime parts, where they had no trade, nor ports fit for it, by the inhabitants of Arrakan, who took possession of them. In 1539, their power was so much reduced, that though they seem to have been masters of Ava not long before, they were at this time tributary to the king of Pegu. However, an accident soon after gave them an opportunity not only of recovering their freedom, but also of subjecting Pegu in their turn, which they lost again for a short space of time; when recovering it about the middle of the sixteenth century, they, under the conduct of a valiant prince, over-ran almost the whole Farther Peninsula of India. In the reign of his son they lost Pegu, and other countries, but recovered them again in a few years, and have continued in possession of them ever since [q].

[p] Da Cruz, ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 167, & seqq. [q] Mendez Pinto's Voy. p. 241.

The

The Government of Ava.

How the king knows all affairs.

THE government in Ava is arbitrary, for the commands of the king are laws; but then the reins are kept ſteady in his own hands, and managed with gentleneſs and attention. He ſeverely puniſhes the governors of provinces or towns, if guilty of oppreſſion, or other illegal practices: and, to inform himſelf how affairs go every where, each has a deputy reſiding at court, which is generally kept in the preſent capital Ava. Theſe attend every morning, in an apartment of the palace; to which adjoins another, whither the king repairs, who from thence can ſee the whole aſſembly, without being ſeen himſelf. A page ſtands without, to call thoſe whom his majeſty appoints to make report of what had been tranſacted in his city or province. Thus he paſſes his mornings, from breakfaſt time, in hearing the neceſſary caſes of his own affairs, as well as thoſe of his ſubjects.

Capital puniſhments.

In matters of treaſon, or murder, the king appoints judges to try the accuſed; and, on conviction, ſigns the dead warrant; wherein he orders, that the wretch convicted ſhall tread no more on his ground; and execution preſently follows, either by beheading, or being thrown to his elephants, cruelly to be trodden to pieces under their feet. Sometimes criminals are baniſhed for a term to the woods; and, when that is expired, if they are not devoured by tigers, or killed by wild elephants, they may return, and ſpend the remainder of their days in ſerving a tame elephant: and, for ſmaller crimes, they are only condemned to cleanſe his elephants ſtables for life [r].

Law of debtors.

In civil caſes the laws are very ſtrict. With regard, particularly, to debts, there is nothing loſt: for, one way or other, they muſt be paid; or the debtor ſold, with his family. Sometimes the Peguers, when they want money, will pledge not only themſelves, but their wives and children. If payment is not made at the time limited, the creditor may then ſeize them all, and lock them up in his warehouſe. They are ſo much at his diſpoſal, that he may even lie with the inſolvent's wife, if he has an inclination: but then, by that action, the debt is underſtood to be diſcharged [s].

Police in cities.

All cities and town in this king's dominions are like ariſtocratical commonwealths. The prince, or governor,

[r] Hamilt. New Acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 42, & ſeqq. [s] Balbi Viag. dell Ind. Orient. p. 127.

ſeldom

ſeldom ſits in council himſelf, but appoints his deputy, and twelve counſellors or judges, who ſit once in ten days, or oftener, if buſineſs requires it. They aſſemble in a large hall, mounted about three feet high, with double benches round the floor, for the people to ſit or kneel on, to hear the free debates of council. The hall is raiſed on wooden pillars, and open on all ſides. The judges are placed in the middle, on mats; and, ſitting in a ring, have no precedency one of another. There are no lawyers or attornies to harangue at the bar; but every individual has the privilege to plead his own cauſe, or ſend his caſe in writing, to be read publicly; and he is ſure to have it determined within three ſittings of council at moſt. Neither are there any fees due to the officers of the court, which they call rounday; but the charge, which is very ſmall, is defrayed by the people of the town.

No lawyers, nor fees.

At the backs of the judges there are placed clerks, who write down whatever the plaintiff and defendant have to ſay; and the cauſe is determined by the judgment of the governor and council. If in the ſentence there happens to be the leaſt partiality to either party, and the king is made acquainted with it by the deputies at court, the whole is reverſed, and the judges are corrected. This juſt regulation is a ſtrong check upon the council, ſo that appeals are very rare. On the other hand, if an appeal is not well grounded, the appellant is chaſtiſed; which juſt rigour prevents vexatious ſuits, common in countries where there are no penalties annexed to ſuch litigious proceedings.

Excellent regulations.

For diſcovering murder, theft, or perjury, and to diſcover the truth, where the evidence is doubtful or contradictory, the ordeal is much uſed in Ava. Of this there are ſeveral kinds; one way is to make the parties chew ſome raw rice, and ſwallow it, on the ſuppoſition that it will ſtick in the party's throat if he is guilty. Another method is to oblige the accuſed, and the accuſer, to lay hold of a ſtake driven into a river; and he who ſtays longeſt under water, is judged worthy of credit. His antagoniſt muſt lie on his back for three days and nights, with his neck in the ſtocks or pillory, without meat or drink, and is fined beſides. Scandal and malicious ſlander, is puniſhed in this manner. They have alſo the cuſtom, in caſe of atrocious crimes, of dipping the naked hand in boiling oil, or melted lead; and if the accuſer is ſcalded or burnt in the trial, he muſt undergo the puniſhment due

Ordeal trials.

to the crime: a cuſtom which makes people very cautious how they calumniate one another.

Differences how compoſed.

With regard to little differences and diſputes, which ariſe among neighbours, the ſettling them is generally undertaken by the clergy, who never ceaſe mediating between the parties, till there be a reconciliation; in token of which they eat champok (R) from one another's hand, and that ſeals the friendſhip. Nor muſt we omit giving the eccleſiaſtics the praiſes due to them on another occaſion. If a ſtranger happens to be ſhipwrecked on their coaſt, by the laws of the country the men are the king's ſlaves: but, by the mediation of the church, the governors overlook that law; and when the unfortunate people repair to their temples, they are relieved both with food and raiment. If ſick or wounded, they keep them till they are cured, and then give them letters of recommendation to the next convent, thus paſſing them from one to another, till they meet with barks to tranſport them to Sirian [t].

Of the King or Emperor.

Reverence paid him.

THE king or emperor of Ava gives great attention to public affairs. His breakfaſt uſually conſiſts of rice boiled in water, and reliſhed with prok, which is a mixture of ſhrimps, dried and powdered, with ſalt and cod-pepper. When his breakfaſt is over, he retires to hear what paſſes in the aſſembly of deputies, and hear the petitions of his ſubject; by whom, if they may be ſo called, he is approached with the moſt abject reverence. The higheſt title which any of them aſſumes is to call himſelf his majeſty's firſt ſlave. When pots of water or baſkets of fruit are carried through the ſtreets for the king's uſe, an officer attends them, and the people, who happen to be near, muſt fall on their knees as they paſs.

Vain titles,

When they ſpeak or write to him, they call him their kiak, or god: and the king himſelf, in his letter to foreign princes, aſſumes the title of "king of kings, to whom all other kings ought to be ſubject, as being near kinſman and friend to all the gods in heaven and on earth: that, by their friendſhip to him, all animals are fed and preſerved, as well as all the ſeaſons of the year have

[t] Hamilt. p. 58, 61.

(R) Champok is a kind of tea, of a very unſavoury taſte.

their

their conſtant returns; that the ſun is his brother, the moon and ſtars his near relations; that he is lord over the ebbing and flowing of the ſea; laſtly, that he is king of the white elephant, and twenty-four umbrellas." Theſe are only common China umbrellas, covered over with thin Chormandeel battelaes, with their canes lacquered and gilded; yet becauſe his own ſubjects dare not wear ſuch umbrellas, he lays his commands on all other kings to forbear making uſe of them, when they go abroad.

After his majeſty has dined, there is a trumpet blown, to ſignify to all his ſlaves, meaning all other kings, that they may go to dinner, becauſe their lord has already dined. And as he terms all other kings his ſlaves, ſo their ſubjects are conſidered as ſuch, when they come into his ports to trade, or on any other occaſion. When a foreign ambaſſador is admitted to audience in the palace, he is attended with a large troop of guards, with trumpets ſounding, and heralds proclaiming the honour which he is about to receive, in being permitted to ſee this king of kings, the glory of the whole earth. When the ambaſſador is between the gate and the head of the ſtairs which lead to the chamber of audience, he is attended by the maſter of the ceremonies, who inſtructs him to kneel three times in his way thither; in which poſture he muſt continue, with his hands liſted over his head, not daring to riſe till a proclamation is read for that purpoſe: and becauſe the very brutes ought to pay obedience to this univerſal monarch, ſome of his elephants are taught to fall on their bellies when his majeſty paſſes by*.

and aſſumed authority.

Neither his ſoldiers nor military officers have any pay: but there is a province, or city, with lands, given to ſome lord or commander, who is to maintain out of it ſuch a number of men, ready to attend the wars on all occaſions; and to find the palace at Ava with ſuch proviſions as the providore thinks fit to demand. In time of war, however, they are allowed pay, proviſions, clothes, and arms, which are returned into the magazines as ſoon as the war is over. Hence it is that diſcipline is but little known among this king's troops; and a man of a tolerable ſtock of courage may paſs in thoſe parts for a hero. This is the account of our lateſt travellers; but ſome of thoſe who went firſt to Ava admired their diſcipline. The quality of an officer is known by his tobacco-pipe. This utenſil conſiſts of three parts, a head or bowl, a ſhape or

Forces how paid.

* Alliſon ap. Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 42.

ſhank, and a mouth-piece. The head is either of metal or clay, with a ſocket to let in the ſhaft, which is made of a jointed reed or cane: the mouth-piece is of gold, fixed on the upper end of the ſhaft, and, like the reed, has joints, whoſe number aſcertains the degree of the officer, and he is reſpected according to that token [w].

What has been ſaid with regard to the religion, temples, and clergy, of Pegu, may ſerve for thoſe of Ava: and indeed the laws, cuſtoms, and every thing elſe, are nearly the ſame in both countries, as hath been already mentioned. It remains therefore only to add a few things concerning

The Hiſtory of Ava.

Earlieſt notices. WHAT we have to lay before our readers on this ſubject is but very inconſiderable, and little more than what hath already occurred to him in the hiſtory of Pegu. In the time of Nicolo di Conti, about 1430, it ſeems to have been an independent monarchy, and in a flouriſhing condition [x]. In 1505, when Vertoman or Barthema was there, the kings of Ava and Pegu had been at war together for two years; but coming at length to a pitched battle, the latter obtained the victory. Preſently after we find the lately defeated monarch moving againſt his enemy, with a very numerous army, although we know not whether there enſued a ſecond engagement, or how the war terminated [y].

Bramas invade. We meet with nothing after this period, relating to the affairs of Ava, till the year 1545; when Para Mandarà, the Barma king, having conquered Pegu, upon advice that the king of Ava intended to give a paſſage to the emperor of Pandalu's troops, that were coming to invade his dominions, marched with a numerous army to attack Prom, a city belonging to Ava, and governed by a king or regulo, who was married to the prince of Ava's daughter. The Barmas, by treachery, became maſters of the city, which they demoliſhed, after having exerciſed unheard of cruelty againſt the king and queen. From thence the victor proceeded to Meleytay, a fortreſs twelve leagues diſtant, which he took, after defeating the prince of Ava; and then went up the river with his forces in barks, with deſign to attack the city of Ava; but finding it in a very

[w] Hamilt. p. 46, & ſeqq. [x] See Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 158, & ſeq. [y] Vertoman ap. Willes's Collect. p. 402.

good

good poſture of defence, and hearing that a powerful aſſiſtance was coming to it from the mountains of Pandalu, he returned to Prom, and put off his enterprize againſt Ava till he had ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with ſome other powers.

Para Mandara being afterwards engaged in other wars, no farther attempts were made againſt Ava during his reign. But as ſoon as his ſucceſſor Chaumigrem was ſettled on the throne, he meditated the conqueſt of all the neighbouring kingdoms; of which, no doubt, that of Ava was one of the firſt, although the preciſe date of this event is not aſcertained by authors.

Pegu empire deſtroyed.

Upon the death of Chaumigrem, in 1583, the king of Ava, who was his brother, and uncle to his ſucceſſor Pranjinoko, refuſed obedience to his nephew; who thereupon invaded and ſlew him in ſingle combat. After this event, Ava remained in ſubjection to the crown of Pegu during the life of this monarch: but, at his death, the kingdom of Pegu being quite ruined, and the monarchy diſſolved, the king of Arrakan took poſſeſſion of Pegu; and it is not to be doubted but that, at the ſame time, Ava became independent, under a ſovereign of its own.

Recovers again.

The king of Ava was a Barma, and, in all probability, of the Pegu line. He was likewiſe a prince of courage, and had begun already to extend his dominions. It is probable that the king of Arrakan, ſeeing him grown powerful, yielded up the kingdom of Pegu to him, without diſputing his title. The next, and indeed only farther tranſaction of this prince, which occurs in our authors, is his expedition againſt Sirian, which yielded to his arms, after it had more than once baffled the united forces of the king of Arrakan and his confederates. The reduction of Sirian happened in 1613; and, in 1615, we find the kingdom and city of Jangomay recovered by the king of Ava, from the ſovereign of Siam, who reduced about 1604.

Royal ſeat removed to Ava city.

He removed the imperial ſeat from the city of Ava to that of Pegu, which began to flouriſh again after its late deſtruction: for in 1619 the Engliſh found him there with his court. But it is uncertain when they transferred it laſt to Ava, where it at preſent is, and ſeems to have been fixed for above a century.

However that be, the court ſeems to have been at Ava about that time; for we are told that the Lanjans, or Laos, who had been carried into Pegu by the Barma conqueror,

queror, in proceſs of time took arms, and forced their way home, with the deſtruction of all the Peguers who oppoſed them. The king of Ava, perceiving it would be difficult to reduce them by force, deſigned to ſurpriſe them under colour of amity; but died In 1647, before he could execute his intentions. In the reign of his ſucceſſor, they invaded his dominions, committing great devaſtation on the frontiers of Pegu, which they carried away without any oppoſition from the king of Ava; who, being hated by his ſubjects, feared they might take that opportunity to revolt. Nevertheleſs, they were obliged to ſubmit ſhortly after; for in 1652 we find them tributary to Ava [z].

SECT. VI.

The Country or Kingdom of Jangomay.

Country between Siam and China.

IT hath been already obſerved, that Europeans know little or nothing of the dominions of the Avan empire, from its capital northwards to the borders of China, either as to the different kingdoms and ſtates it contains, or even the country and inhabitants. We only find, in general, from the journal of the four Chineſe above mentioned, that after they paſſed out of the provinces of Yun-nan they met with nothing but deſerts for five days together; but from thenceforward the country put on another aſpect, and they found plantations along the river every day. Whether this be the condition of the country about the frontiers of the two empires of China and Ava, as far as the territories of the Laos, which bounds the latter eaſtward, we cannot determine, for want of ſufficient information. We only know, in general, from the obſervations of the latitudes made at the capital of Ava, and along the borders of China, joined to the ſurveys of Tibet and Yun-nan, communicated by the Jeſuits, that there muſt be a large ſpace of country within the above mentioned limits; and that, according to the tradition of the Siamites, the Laos and the other neighbouring empires, it was formerly inhabited by a very powerful people, who had formed a dominion of vaſt extent.

[z] Marini Deſcr. Tonquin, &c. p. 368.

Theſe

The great Siams.

These people were named Tay-yay, that is, *the Great Freemen*, or *Franks*; so they are called at present, both by the Chinese and Siamese. They were situated to the north of these latter; who acknowleging themselves to be descended from them, take the name of Tay-noe, or the *Little Freemen*. Their country is called by the Chinese, Ko-sang-pye, and was, according to them, three months journey in length, and governed by priests. These people were probably called by the Peguers, Sions or Siams; which, in their language, we are told signifies *tree*: and from them, doubtless, the Portuguese took the name of Siam, for it is not known in the country itself. It is probable, likewise, that the Laos are descended from the same people; and hence they might have got the name of Sions, or Siams Maons; and the rather, as the Siamites are alleged to be derived from the Laos [a].

Jangomay is the only country, in all the large region in question, which travellers have brought us acquainted with.

Jangomay kingdom.

The kingdom of Jangoma, or Jangomay, lies in the most southern part of the above mentioned region, directly north of Siam; having the territories of the Laos on the east, and the kingdom of Ava Proper on the west. As to its extent, we are quite at a loss, no traveller having mentioned it. However, we may conclude it not to be very inconsiderable, from the number of forces which we are told its king could raise, namely, three hundred and fifty thousand, and, upon occasion, one million [b].

Fitch, in 1587, travelled from the city of Pegu, shaping his course north-east, through many fruitful countries; and, at the end of twenty-five days, with the karawân, arrived at the city of Jamahey. He found the country very flat, and full of rivers. Wild buffaloes and elephants were numerous: and the houses in the villages very ordinary, made of canes, and covered with straw.

Jamahey, or Chiamay, city.

The city of Jamahey is very populous, fair, and large: the houses built with stone, and the streets very wide. This is all the account Fitch gives us of this city, which we conceive to be the same called by Mendez Pinto and others Chiamay. According to the Siamese, this last is situated on the river Menân, which crosses Jangomay, as well as Siam, from north to south, about sixteen days journey more north than the frontiers of that

[a] Loubiere Relat. Siam. p. 7. Du Halde's Descr. China, vol. i. p. 62. [b] Hayes de Reb. Japan. &c. p. 748.

kingdom: but, as the journies are by water, and againſt the ſtream, Loubiere computes the diſtance to be between ſixty and ſeventy leagues at moſt. However, we reckon the diſtance to be much exaggerated by theſe foreigners; and, deducting from the windings of the river, judge Chiamay to lie north from Siam, in a direct line, not above ninety miles; nor to exceed the latitude of twenty degrees thirty minutes [c].

The inhabitants. Fitch ſays, that Jamahey is in the country of the Lanjeyannes, whom Europeans call Jangomays; by which he would intimate that theſe are different names for the ſame people, which may poſſibly be the caſe: but we may rather ſuppoſe them two different nations; for Jangomay lying between two great powers, thoſe of Ava and the Lanjangs, who are a branch of the Laos, has ſometimes been ſubject to one, ſometimes to the other. Before it was conquered by Chaumigrem, king of Pegu, about 1556, it had probably been, for a long ſeries of years, in the hands of the Lanjangs, who might have become more numerous than the old poſſeſſors, or even extirpated them. But whether Jangomays be the name of the old inhabitants, or only an appellation given to the Lanjangs by the Peguers, Siameſe, or ſome other of their neighbours, this is certain, that Jangomay is a different country from that of Lanjang; and the city of Jamahey, or Chiamay, two hundred miles, perhaps, diſtant from its capital, which bears the ſame name [d].

Dreſs and diet. The inhabitants of Jamahey, or Chiamay, are well ſet and ſtrong. Their dreſs is very ſimple, conſiſting only in a cloth wrapped about them; and they wear bells in their privy members, like the people of Pegu and Ava. They go with their heads and feet bare; for, in all theſe countries, they wear no ſhoes. The women are fairer than thoſe of Pegu. Proviſions are in great plenty: but they make uſe of rice cakes inſtead of bread; there being no wheat in all thoſe parts.

Their funerals. When any perſon is ſick in theſe countries, he makes a vow to offer meat to the devil in caſe he recovers. On which occaſion they then prepare a banquet, and invite their friends, who bring preſents of fruit; and while they are dancing to the ſound of drums, pipes, and other inſtruments, they offer meat to the devil, accompanied with much ſhouting, in order to drive him away. Dur-

[c] Fitch ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1740. Loubiere, ubi ſupra, p. 3.
[d] Fitch, ubi ſup. p. 1740.

ing

ing his illneſs a talepoy or two ſit by him every night, and ſing, with a view to ſooth the devil, that he may not do him hurt. When a perſon dies, his corpſe is carried on a ſort of frame-work, made of canes, with a covering at top, gilt all over. This machine, carried by fourteen or ſixteen men, is preceded by ſeveral ſorts of muſic, and accompanied by the male friends of the deceaſed; in which order being conveyed to a place out of town, it is there burnt. On this occaſion the prieſts have a preſent of mats and linen. After the funeral, a feaſt is made; and then the wife of the deceaſed, attended by all her female friends and neighbours, goes to the place where the body was burned, and picking up the pieces of bones which remain unburned, bury them.

Trade and commodities.

Pimenta ſays the country of Jangomay abounds with muſk, pepper, ſilk, ſilver, gold, and copper. But Fitch confines its native commodities to copper and benjamin; owning however that the reſt are imported by the Chineſe, who trade thither. In 1613, Floris ſent goods from Siam to Jangomay; and, in 1615, one Thomas Samuel was ſent thither from the ſame country, upon the ſame account; at which time the king of Pegu and Ava invading Jangomay, conquered it from the king of Siam, and carried Samuel, with all other ſtrangers, priſoners to Pegu.

Hiſtory of Jangomay.

Jangoma, or Jangomay, was formerly an independent kingdom; but when it firſt became ſubject to ſome of the neighbouring powers, does not appear from hiſtory. It ſeems to have been under a prince of its own in 1556, when Chaumigrem, the great Barma king of Pegu, reduced it under his dominion, before he ſubdued the Laos[e]. It continued in this ſtate during the reign of that monarch and his ſucceſſor, whoſe brother was made governor of it, with the title of king, probably in the reign of their father, as we find another of his ſons was, at his death, king or regulo of Ava. In the midſt of the diſtractions which afflicted Pegu in 1598, the king of Jangomay was perſuaded by the prieſts to dethrone his brother Pranjinoko[f]: but while he delayed putting his deſign in execution, the kings of Tângu and Arrakan joining their forces, took the work out of his hands, and deſtroyed the kingdom of Pegu. However, to be revenged for the diſappointment, as well as get ſhare of

[e] Da Cruz ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 168, & ſeqq. [f] Pimenta ap. Hayes, de Reb. Japan. &c. p. 748.

the

the ſpoil, he, in the year 1600, joined with the râjah Api, called the black king of Siam, againſt the kingdom of Tângu, which they invaded together. But it does not appear what was the iſſue of that war. Poſſibly the king of Tângu bought his peace, by giving them part of the plunder.

Often changes maſters.

Not long after this event, the king of Siam falling out with the prince of Jangomay, who, on the deſtruction of Pegu, was become independent, conquered his country, and alſo that of Lanjang, between the years 1600 and 1605, in which laſt Râjah Api died. Jangomay continued as a province of Siam during the reign of his ſucceſſor, who died in 1610; but, in 1612, we find the king of Ava and Pegu attempting the recovery of thoſe countries, and about three years after, Jangomay was in his poſſeſſion.

Preſent ſtate.

About the year 1657, the king of Siam took Chiamay, and carried away the inhabitants; with whom it was ſoon after repeopled by the king of Ava [g]. But in 1690, we find it in the hands of its old maſters the Laos; ſince we are told that Lanjang and Chiamay were then their two principal cities [h].

SECT. VII.

The Kingdom of Lawhos, or Laos.

The Bounds, Name, Mountains, Rivers, Provinces, and Cities. Errors of Geographers.

Bounds and extent.

THE country of Lawhos, Lao, or of the Laos, of which Jangomay was originally, or by conqueſt, a part, taken in its largeſt ſenſe, is bounded on the weſt by the dominions of Ava and Siam; on the north, by the province of Yun-nan, or Jun-nan, in China; on the eaſt, by Tongking; and on the ſouth, by Kamboja. It is ſituated between the 15th or 16th and the 22d degrees of latitude, and between the 119th and 122d degrees of longitude; ſo that the territories of the Laos, taken all together, may extend in length from ſouth to north about four hundred and twenty geographic miles, and in breadth from weſt to eaſt about one hundred and eighty, although moſt geographers make it ſcarce half ſo much. It is ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains covered with foreſts, which ſerve as

[g] Floris, ubi ſupra, p. 439. [h] Loubiere, p. 3. Kæmpf. p. 26.

ramparts

ramparts to secure it, and break the force of rapid torrents which descend from thence into the plains [i].

The name generally given by travellers to this region is Lao, or the country of the Laos. Da Cruz says [k], the Laos are by some called Siones Maons; and Marini says, that this country is more properly called the kingdom of the Lanjens, than of Lao. But with regard to the name of Siones Maons, it seems to be given to the Laos on account of the Great Siams, called Tay-yay, who possessed the country to the west of Lao, and of whom the Laos probably are the remains. *Name.*

The country of Lao, or of the Laos, seems to be generally flat, and to have scarce any hills or mountains but those which encompass it on all sides, and serve as barriers against the potent kingdoms with which it is inclosed. From these mountains descend infinite rivulets, which drain into one large river, that crosses the whole region from north to south. The source of this river has been but little known to former geographers; but the Jesuits have lately fixed it with great precision. According to their map of China, it rises in the north-west borders of the province of Yun-nan (H). Near its source it is called Lan-tsan Kyang; and where it enters the kingdom of Lao, within ten miles of the east border, it bears the name of Ku-long Kyang. The Laos call it Menan Kong; in its passage southwards it washes the cities of Lê, Kyang-kong, Kyang-seng, and Lan-chang, or Lan-jang; afterwards it enters the kingdom of Kamboja, which it crosses, and falls into the sea at Bonsak. *Mountains and rivers.*

From Kyang-kong, downwards to its mouth, it carries large barks; but from Lê, upwards, it bears none; so that one is obliged to travel from thence to Yun-nan by land [l]. Although such a number of streams fall into this river, yet, we are told, that it never overflows, by reason of a causey, fifteen or sixteen feet high, which runs along its banks, and prevents inundations, even in those years when the rains have fallen in the greatest abundance. The rivers usually swell with the heavy rains, which begin to fall in May; and sometimes with the quantity of snow, when it melts on the mountains of Tibet, which are seen from Lao. This great increase of water continues com- *The Menan Kong.*

[i] Marini Hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 331. [k] Ap Purch. vol. iii. p. 168. [l] Du Halde Descript. China, vol. i. p. 63.

(H) Latitude 27 deg. 30 min. long. from Paris 96 deg. 40 min. and 27 deg. 20 min. west of Peking.

monly

monly from September to January, yet without interrupting commerce, or the tranſportation of merchandize.

Navigation dangerous. It is much ſafer to ſail againſt the ſtream than with it, for the current is ſo rapid, that the bark ſeems to fly as ſwift as an arrow out of a bow; and, by the violence of the motion, is often overſet. For this reaſon, when they arrive at the place which ſeparates the two kingdoms, it is neceſſary to unload the bark, deſtroy one part of it, and make uſe of waggons to convey the commodities for the ſpace of three miles over land; while the bargemen employ ten days in hauling up the reſidue of the veſſel through the falls by force of arm. A miſſioner propoſed to remedy this inconvenience by means of ſluices; but the king would not conſent to deſtroy what he deemed a ſtrong barrier.

Provinces and cities. We meet with very little in authors touching either the cities or provinces of this kingdom. Marini indeed tells us, that it contains ſeven provinces; but mentions not the name of one. As to cities, beſides Jamahey, or Chiamay, the capital of Jangomay, we find the names of ſeveral others; with an account of ſome of them, and their diſtances one from another, in a journal of ſome Chineſe merchants, who travelled from Siam to China in the year 1652.

Journey through Lao by ſome Chineſe. Theſe merchants ſet out on horſeback from Kyang-hay or Kyau, on the borders of Siam, and in ſeven days reached Kyang-ſeng; in ſeven more they advanced to Kemerat; and in eight more to Leng, capital of Laos. The way hitherto was full of woods, rivers, and ſettlements, for the moſt part impaſſable for waggons; but free from either wild beaſts or robbers. From Leng they ſpent ſeven days in going to Lê, and eleven more on the road to Meng; in all forty ſtages; here they turned northward to get into Yun-nan, from whence, in a ſhort time, they arrived in China. Here then we have an account of a road almoſt through the whole extent of Lao, from ſouth to north. It is true, that this itinerary is defective, inaſmuch as the ſituation neither of Kyang-hay nor Meng, the two terms of the journey, is fixed, by their diſtance being marked from ſome known place. For all that is of conſiderable uſe, as the poſitions of the intermediate places are in a great meaſure aſcertained; the rather as we find two of them, Lê and Kyang-ſeng, are ſeated on the Menan Kong. To theſe may be added Kyang-kong, lying between thoſe two cities, and Lang-jang, ſtanding lower down than Kyang-ſeng, upon the ſame river. Beſides this, we have the latitude of Lan-jang to regulate the poſition of the whole.

So

So that, by means of these materials, joined to the description which is given of the above mentioned places, we may be said to know more of the inland parts of Lao than of any other country in the Farther Peninsula of India, Siam and Pegu excepted.

Accounts of travellers very defective.

The country of Lao, considered at large, is commonly represented as subject to a single monarch: and Marini expressly affirms as much, informing us farther, that Lao contains seven provinces; that the royal seat was at Lanjan; and that the proper name of Lao is Lanjans [l]. On the other hand, we find by the journal of the Chinese merchants, that there were two kingdoms within the region of Lahos, or Laos, namely, Kemerat and Leng; which latter, they tell us, is more properly called Lahos; and that its chief city is the capital of Lahos: and a third author names a fourth kingdom, called Thiem, inhabited by a certain wild people called Ke-moy, who have neither king nor religion; both bordering on Kâchinchina to the north-west [m]. We shall not pretend to divide this country into its particular kingdoms or provinces, but content ourselves with dividing it into two great parts only; one called the Northern, or Proper Lao; the other, the Southern Lao, or kingdom of Lanjang.

The Southern Lao, or Kingdom of Lanjang.

The name.

THE kingdom of Lanjan, Lanjang, or Lanchang, takes that denomination from the great numbers of elephants with which the country abounds; the word Lanjens, or Lanjans, signifying properly, *thousands of elephants* [n].

Its dimensions.

We cannot precisely determine the extent of this southern Lao, or Lau, from south to north: however, upon a supposition that Kyang-seng, which is situated on the Menan Kong, to the north of Lanjang, belongs to the northern province, and is not far from the frontiers of the southern, this latter will extend to near the 19th degree of latitude, and consequently, containing almost four degrees in extent from north to south, will have the larger half of Lao to its share; as its breadth from west to east will be equal to that of the other; but if we comprise Jangomay within its limits, the breadth will be augmented perhaps a hundred miles, or more. Upon this

[l] Marini Hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 329. 359. de Siam, p. 563.
[m] Choisy Voy.
[n] Marini, p. 337.

footing,

footing, the province or kingdom of Lanjang will be near twice as large as the northern Lao.

Climate very healthy. The climate of this country is ſomewhat more temperate than that of Tongking, but exceedingly more healthful; ſo that one meets with old men, of a hundred and a hundred and twenty years of age, who are as robuſt and vigorous as if they were but fifty.

Soil and produce. The ſoil is generally very good, being rendered fruitful by a great number of canals cut from the great river Menan Kong; which ſerve both to water the lands on each ſide, and carry off the ſtreams, madeeit her by the torrents deſcending from the hills, or the great rains which fall at ſtated times. It is remarkable, that the lands on the eaſtern ſide of the river are vaſtly more fertile than thoſe on the weſtern ſide; the very animals, ſuch as elephants and unicorns (I), are larger. The rice too is incomparable, and of a particular ſcent as well as flavour. The foreſt and other trees are high, ſtrait, and incorruptible; qualities wanting in thoſe on the weſtern ſide, where they are ill-ſhaped, and the rice ſo hard that it is ſcarce fit for boiling. As ſoon as the rains ceaſe, the ſoutherly winds blow, and the lands which had been ſown with rice immediately after the harveſt, produce a kind of ſcum, which, covering this champaign like ſnow for ſeveral miles, is hardened with the ſun, and becomes ſolid ſalt. There is ſo great a quantity of it produced in this manner, that not only the whole kingdom is ſupplied with it, at a very trifling expence, but enough is left to ſerve ſtrangers, who come every year and carry away as much as they think proper. Then the new rains, which ſucceed this ſecond gathering, cleanſe and meliorate the ſoil in ſuch a manner, as gives the rice that delicious taſte, which the rice of other countries hath not.

Excellent rice.

Plenty of ſalt.

The principal drugs found in this kingdom are benjamin and lakka °.

Benjamin. The benjamin is reckoned the beſt in the Eaſt, and is found in great abundance. The tree that affords it, grows moſtly in the mountains. The leaves are like thoſe of the cheſnut-tree, and the flower very beautiful, being white and odoriferous like thoſe of orange-trees. The fruit likewiſe is ſweet-ſcented, of the ſhape and ſize of an acorn, but very ill-taſted, and degenerates when planted in foreign

° Marini Hiſt. Tunq. & Lao, p. 332. 335, & ſeq.

(A) By unicorns, probably, are to be underſtood rhinoceroſſes.

ſoils;

soils; yet, as the gum produces a great revenue to the king, the Lanjans are forbidden to sell the fruit to strangers.

The lakka, or lakre, which is used in making Spanish wax, is nothing but a certain kind of earth, found in forests round about the ant-hills, with which those insects cover the surface of their little territories for the use of their magazines. *Gum lakka.*

There is not better ivory, nor greater plenty of it, in any country than in this; and no wonder, since it has its name from the number of elephants found in it, as hath been already mentioned: but the unicorn's, or rather rhinoceros's horn, is the thing most prized by the Lanjans; from a belief, that whoever is possessed of one may command fortune. And as some have more virtue than others, when a person is advanced to a new post, he sells the horn which he had before, and buys another, of a better kind, at the expence of several hundred crowns. His next care is to hide it so effectually that he shall be in no danger of having it stolen, and so deprived of all the good luck which they think inseparable from it. *Ivory.*

As the forests are of great extent, and the plains enamelled with variety of flowers, they make abundance of honey, wax, and cotton. Here are also several mines of iron, lead, and tin. Gold and silver likewise are found; but the inhabitants collect those metals out of certain places of the river by means of iron nets. From the neighbouring countries they have red amber and musk, with which they drive a great trade. The amber comes from the kingdom of Ava, and is found in the forests at the roots of very old trees, which grow among the rocks and inaccessible places. The musk is brought from the kingdom of Gnay, and taken from a bag joining to the navel of an animal, which the Chinese call ye-hyang, or the musk-stag. The Lanjans make likewise a counterfeit musk, with ambergris and the juice drawn from the body of a cat, which they call algalia [p]. *Mines.* *Red amber, musk.*

The Lanjans make great advantage of several other animals, particularly buffaloes and oxen, which are employed in the service of the plains. Their garden fruit is likewise very profitable to them, as well as their excellent rice. Their rivers abound with fish of several kinds; some so large and heavy, that two men can hardly carry one of them. The smaller sorts are caught in such plenty, *Animals, fruits, fish.*

[p] Marini, p. 337, & seqq.

that

that a hundred weight may be had for the value of five pence. They pickle them as we do herrings, and the poor eat them with their rice, which is their ordinary food. According to Kæmpfer, Lao produces precious ſtones, eſpecially rubies; alſo pearls, called by the Siameſe, muk; which that author eſteems the more ſtrange, as the country does not lie near any ſalt water [q]; but probably his ſurprize would have ceaſed, had he known of the ſaline quality of the land, which muſt be communicated to the flooding waters.

Provinces. The kingdom of Lanjans contains ſeven provinces and ſeveral conſiderable cities; for what Marino aſcribes to Lao in general, we apply to Lanjan in particular; but that author neither deſcribes, nor ſo much as mentions the name of any one of them, excepting the capital of Lanjan.

City of Lanjan. Lanjan, written alſo Lanjang, and Lan-chang, according to the Chineſe pronunciation, is by Marini, Choiſy, and Kæmpfer, reckoned the capital of the kingdom of Lao. It is the city where the king uſually reſides, in the latitude of 18 degrees. It is defended on one ſide by good ditches, and walls exceeding high; on the other by the great river. The king's palace is of ſuch vaſt extent that it may well paſs for a city, both with reſpect to its magnitude, and the number of people who inhabit it. It appears to the view at a very great diſtance; and is admirable, as well for its ſtructure as the ſymmetry of the buildings which compoſe it. The royal apartment is adorned with a magnificent portal, and a great number of beautiful chambers, accompanied with a grand ſaloon, or hall; the whole built with incorruptible wood, is adorned both on the inſide and outſide with excellent bas-reliefs, all ſo delicately gilded, that they ſeem to be covered rather with plates, than leaves of gold.

King's palace.

From the king's apartment you enter into very ſpacious courts, where you behold a long ſeries of houſes, all of brick, and covered with tiles, in which uſually dwell his wives of the ſecond claſs; and beyond them another range of buildings, equally neat and uniform, for the officers belonging to the court. It would require a volume, ſays Marini, to give an exact account of the riches, gardens, and other quarters of this ſumptuous manſion.

The houſes. The houſes of the grandees, and perſons of condition, are very high and elegant, well contrived and ornamented;

[q] Kæmpf. ubi ſupra, p 26.

but

but those of the inferior people are no better than huts. The priests alone have the privilege of building their houses and convents with brick or stone[i].

The Northern Lao, or Laho.

WE consider the territories within these limits as the proper country of the people called Lao, distinct from that of the Lanjans, which bounds it on the south. Its extent from south to north is about three degrees, amounting to about two hundred and ten English miles; and its breadth the same with the whole country in general already mentioned. *Extent.*

The country, soil, and produce, are much of the same nature with those of Lanjang. The number of provinces, however, is not mentioned by authors, unless we suppose Marini's seven to be comprehended in both the northern and southern Lao. All the account we have relating to them is contained in the Chinese journal; and that only mentions two or three large provinces at most, each of which has under it several lesser provinces or districts, whereof we find the names, with some light concerning their situations; the whole subject to Ava.

The most southern of the provinces or districts mentioned in the Chinese journal, is Kyang-seng, seven days journey from Kyang-hay, or Kyay, on the frontiers of Siam. This is all we meet with relating to this province, excepting that, as to its situation, it lies north of the province or district of Kyang-hay, and south of that of Kemerat. The chief city of that name also stands on the river Menân Kong, which from thence flows southward, into the kingdom of Lan-chang, or Lanjang[k]. *Kyang-seng province.*

The province of Kemerat next occurs. It is bounded on the east by that of Le, on the north by Lang, on the south by Kyang-seng and Kyang-hay. Its capital city of the same name, seven days journey from Kyang-sang, is situate on the river Menân-tay, or Menân-lay, which falls into the Menân-kong towards the town of Bankiop, lying, as we judge, to the south-east from Kemerat, and between the cities of Kyang-kong and Kyang-seng. When the Chinese passed through it, a king resided there, named Prachyau Otang, tributary to Hawa, or Ava, and sent ambassadors thither every year with his acknowlegements, *Kemerat province.* *The capital city.*

[i] Marini, p. 341, & seqq.

[k] Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 61.

consisting of two small shrubs, one having its leaves and flowers of gold, and the other of silver.

The inhabitants use fire-arms.

In this country they have the use of fire-arms, great and small cannon, muskets, zagays, or darts and cross-bows [1]. While the Tartars were employed in subduing China in the last century, a great number of Chinese fugitives out of Yun-nan fell upon, and reduced the neighbouring territories, among which was Kemerat, the inhabitants of which abandoned the city. Before the Chinese drove those people out, they went every year to trade with them, carrying velvets, and other silks, camblets, carpets, hair, blue and black callico, musk, quicksilver, kori shells, and bonnets; kettles, and other utensils of copper; precious stones of a green colour, emeralds, gold, silver, and china-ware. In exchange for these commodities they returned with cotton-thread, ivory, an earth or medicinal paste called zhadam, a sort of medicinal wood named ingo by the Portuguese, and mahaing by the Siamese; likewise opium; kotsa, a kind of medicinal root so called, and white linen cloth. All these commodities were brought from Ava, and the Chinese repaired to Kemerat in the three first months, in order to carry them home in April [1].

Trade with China.

Leng kingdom.

The kingdom of Leng, or more properly Lahos, has on the south Kemerat; on the east, Luan and Rong-saa; on the north, Put, Pling, Ken, Kaam, Paa, Saa, Boonoy, Ningneha, Kaan, and Ghin-tay, cities all depending on it; on the west it is bounded by Ko-sang-pyi, the country formerly possessed by the Tay-yay, or great Siams; and farther west is the great forest of Pahima-pan. There are eight cities or places in this kingdom, each containing a garrison of a thousand men.

Soil and produce.

The country of Leng produces rice in abundance; buffaloes, stags, and other animals are common, and their flesh cheap, but fish is scarce. Five days journey north from Mohang Leng there are mines of gold, silver, and copper, also a kind of red sulphur, which has a very stinking smell. Two hundred senes or cords from the city, on the same side, is a pit or mine of precious stones, out of which they get rubies, some of them as big as walnuts, also emeralds, or green stones, of which the king of Lahos has one as large as an orange. There are stones likewise of other colours, and a brook, which runs through the mine, carries several down its stream, which

Mines of gold, silver, and rubies.

[1] Marini, p. 62, & seqq.

some-

sometimes weigh two or three mas, that is, a quarter or third part of an ounce. The silver mines are worked by Chinese. The merchants of Kemerat, Le, May, Teng Maa, Meng, Daa, and Pan repair to this mine, which is enclosed by mountains.

Here is found a medicinal root, called tong-quey by the Chinese, and by the Siamese kot-wha-bwa. Also a tree named vendez-hang, which bears flowers about the thickness of one's finger, of a very agreeable smell, and of various colours, as red, yellow, white, and black. The fruit, when come to perfection, has the shape of a duck; and the dew falls in greatest quantity in the parts where the trees most abound.

Trade and commodities.

The inhabitants of Leng traffick with their neighbours, who come to buy their commodities, consisting in precious stones, gold, silver, tin, lead, sulphur, both red and common; cotton, spun and unspun, tea, lack, japan or brazil-wood, and the medicinal root above mentioned. The merchants of Mohang bring them elephants; the Chinese import raw and manufactured silk, with white hair, as fine as silk, and civet; of this hair the great tufts are made which adorn the elephant's ears on which the king of Siam rides; also the tufts worn by the Chinese on their bonnets. The western merchants from Tay-yay and Pama-hang, or Ava, bring iron, yellow and red sanders, linin, chints, or painted callicoes, venison, a kind of red medicinal paste, opium, and other commodities of Hindûstân, which they exchange for gold, silver, and precious stones. Lastly, the traders of Kemerat and Kyanghay bring cows and buffaloes, to barter for silver, tin, and sulphur [m].

City of Leng tributary to Ava.

The city of Leng, capital of Lahos, is eight days journey from Kemerat, situated on both sides of the river Menân Tay, or Menân Lay, which runs thence to Kemerat. It has neither walls nor fortress, being inclosed only with palisades; and in circuit about four hundred fenes or cords, each twenty Chinese fathoms. Rice is in such plenty in this city, that one may have fifty or sixty pounds of it for a few halfpence. Fish, indeed, is scarce; but, to make amends, the markets abound with the flesh of buffaloes, stags, and other animals. In the months of May, June, and July, all sorts of fruit may be had there, found in the kingdom of Siam, excepting the thûrian, or dûrian, and the mangûstan. The king of

[m] Marini, p. 62, & seqq.

Leng, or Laos, is tributary to Hawa, or Pama-hang; and an ambaſſador is ſent annually from this capital to pay the tribute.

Lé province. The Chineſe memoir gives no account of Lê, and its province or diſtrict, farther than that the city is ſeven days journey diſtant from Leng, towards China, and ſituate on the Menan Kong[n]. According to our eſtimation it ſeems to lie north-eaſtward from Leng.

Meng province. The next place mentioned in the journal is Meng, eleven days journey from Lê. This, we are told, is the capital of a particular province, which has on the weſt Pan and Kaa; on the ſouth, Tſe; and on the eaſt, Chiong and Kû, both dependent on Vinan, or Yun-nan. It is ſeventeen days journey in length from north to ſouth, and about ſeven from eaſt to weſt. The whole country is without the tropic, for the ſun is never vertical. A river croſſes this province, which riſes from a mountain in the north, and falls into the Menân Kong. They reckon in it eighteen cities, which depend on the capital.

Soil and produce. The ſoil of Meng produces all ſorts of fruits which are found in Siam, excepting the dûrian and mangûſtan. There are mines of kalin, or tin, on the weſt ſide; of ſilver, copper, and iron, towards the north; and on the ſouth ſide there is one of ſalt.

Muſk animal. The muſk animal is found in this province, but chiefly about Pang, Chay-daw, and Kong, all three depending on Vinan. Many alſo are caught in the diſtrict of Tay-yay. It is as big as a young goat, with a purſe under its belly, three or four inches thick; which, when cut, ſeems to be a piece of fat, or bacon. They dry it till it may be reduced to powder; and then ſell it in the country for its weight in ſilver. The natives make counterfeit bags, which they fill with its blood, rotten wood, and other ingredients. The peaſants bring great quantities of them to Meng, which they exchange for things of ſmall value; but the buyers ſell them again to foreigners at a pretty dear rate [o].

Inhabitants of Laos, particularly the Lanjans, their Manners and Cuſtoms.

Their perſons. THE Lanjans are well ſhaped and robuſt, rather fat than lean, and of an olive-colour. They are good-natured, affable, courteous, and obliging [p]. The Laos re-

[n] Marini, ibid. [o] Idem, p. 63, & ſeq. [p] Ibid, p. 345—350.

ſemble

ſemble the Chineſe in their ſhape and mien, but are more tawny and ſlender, conſequently of a much handſomer appearance than the Siameſe. They have long ear-laps, like the Peguers and inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt [q], are fond of ſtrangers, and value themſelves on being ſincere. They are free from deceit, and of great integrity; never breaking their promiſe or their truſt. This character they are zealous to acquire; and the rather, as they are ſubject to covet what belongs to another. When they ſee any thing which pleaſes their fancy, they never ceaſe importuning the owner till they obtain it, in whole, or in part. However, in caſe of refuſal, they never offer to take it by force.

Their virtues.

There are no thieves to be met with throughout the whole kingdom. Should any robbery or murder be committed on the highway, all the enquiry imaginable is made after the criminal; becauſe, if he be not found, the neighbouring towns or villages are obliged to indemnify the parties injured; and thus both the lives and goods of people are ſecured throughout the kingdom of Lao; but the cities are not altogether ſo free from theſe inconveniences.

Very numerous.

As the kingdom of Lanjang enjoys a very wholeſome air, and abounds with the neceſſaries of life, it is very populous, and the inhabitants live to a very great age. The Lanjans are not of a warlike diſpoſition, nor expert in the uſe of arms; a circumſtance which may be owing to the advantageous ſituation of their country, incloſed with mountains and ſteep precipices; ſerving as ſo many natural fortifications, ſufficient to defend them againſt the inſults of their enemies; and ſhould any ſuch break through thoſe ramparts, they have a way to get rid of them by poiſoning their rivers. It was thus that the king of Tong-king was obliged to retreat, after having loſt a great number of his army, with which, about the year 1650, he propoſed to annex this monarchy to his own. Before this attempt, ſeveral petty kings, joining their forces with the ſame deſign, againſt the inhabitants of Lao, loſt ſo many of their men and beaſts, by drinking the water of a river along which they encamped, that they were at laſt compelled to retreat, without daring to croſs the ſtream and fight their enemies, who inſulted them on the other ſide [r].

Their vices.

In effect, the Lanjans are very ſlothful, and averſe to buſineſs. They apply themſelves to nothing but agricul-

[q] Kæmpfer, p. 26. [r] Marini, 345, & ſeq.

ture and fishing. They neglect all arts and sciences; so that they lead an indolent life, without troubling themselves about matters which require any great attention of the mind. They are much addicted to women; but their belief in witchcraft and magic is still more pernicious, especially as it prevails among people of rank. They have a notion, that if the head of an elephant be rubbed with wine, enriched with a drop or two of human gall, the beast will become more robust, and his owner more courageous. In this ridiculous conceit the governors sometimes, though but rarely, employ desperate fellows, who, for twenty-five or thirty crowns, will go into the forests to hunt men; and the first they meet with, they open his belly and stomach while alive, and taking out the gall-bladder, cut off his head, to convince the more savage purchaser that he has not deceived him. In case the assassin does not perform his engagement in the limited time, he is obliged to kill either himself, his wife, or child, that his employer may take out the gall of the unhappy victim. The Lanjans would be an almost faultless people, and free from reproach, could this most horrid and cruel practice be once rooted out of the country.

Men hunters.

Their diet. The diet of the Lanjans consists in rice, fish, divers kinds of legumes, and the flesh of buffaloes. They seldom eat veal or poultry. They kill animals designed for food by knocking them on the head with sticks or clubs, and not by cutting their throats; for they hold it very barbarous and criminal to shed the blood of living creatures, and take away their lives in that manner. They make four meals a day, and have indeed excellent stomachs; but much cannot be said in praise of their cleanliness[s].

Their dress. The Laos wear gowns close to their bodies. They go with their feet bare, and the head commonly uncovered. Their hair is clipped round, and short, like a lay-brother's; excepting one lock on the temples, which is left to grow, and run through holes made in the ears for that purpose[t]. One author says, their bodies are adorned with blue figures, made with hot irons, down to the knees; another, that they paint their legs from the ancle to the knee with flowers, and branches of trees, like the Siamese, as a badge of their religion and manhood. The women wear pieces of gold in the holes of their ears, until they are married; and then they lay them aside: but the men wear none at all[t].

[s] Marini, p. 347, & seq. Kæmpfer, Japan. vol. i. p. 27.

[t] De Faria, vol. iii. p. 178.

The

The Lanjans approve of having only one wife; and say, that a man ought not to marry any more: but they make their ſhe ſlaves ſubſervient to their pleaſures, maintaining great numbers of them, according to their quality, as well for the ſake of indulging their paſſions as for grandeur. Tee king who reigned in 1658 had two hundred women; but there is only one of the number who is named the principal, as being the firſt with whom the man is contracted; and the reſt are conſidered only as ſecond wives. Their marriages are for life, and performed in this manner: they chooſe out the oldeſt married couple they can find, who have lived in perfect agreement together, and promiſe, before them, to follow their example till death. But often theſe fair promiſes are not long binding; and the parties have recourſe to very frivolous reaſons to ſeparate, and marry with others. This conduct is, in a great meaſure, owing to the looſe education given their children, whom they abandon to their own inclinations; permitting even the boys and girls to live together, and frequently viſit one another, without conſidering the conſequences which may ariſe from ſuch familiarities. The moſt dangerous opportunities are the rendezvouſes, which continue for a month in the houſe of a new lain-in woman, where all the family and relations meet, to divert themſelves with dancing, and other kinds of merriment; in order to drive away the ſorcerers, and prevent them from making the mother loſe her milk, and the child from being bewitched. Theſe revels are the more dangerous, as fornication is tolerated among the laity. But a woman convicted of adultery becomes a ſlave to her huſband, who treats her in what manner he thinks fit; and may even oblige her to pay a ſum of money [x].

Monogamy.

Their marriages.

When any of their relations die, they make a feaſt alſo, which holds for a month; and celebrate the funeral with great magnificence. The corpſe is put in a coffin, daubed over with a kind of bitumen. None are invited to wake the dead, but the talepoy, or prieſts, who attend for the ſake of good cheer. However, they employ a great part of the time in repeating certain hymns, adapted to the occaſion; by means of which the ſoul, as they ſay, is taught the way to heaven, to the end it might not ſtray in thoſe unknown regions. When the month is expired, they raiſe a curious pyramid, according to the quality of the

Their burials.

[x] Marini, p. 351, & ſeqq.

defunct, set off with an infinite number of ornaments, and elegant bas reliefs. After they have deposited the corpse therein, they set fire to, and reduce it to ashes: these ashes being carefully gathered up, are carried into one of their temples, which is filled with very sumptuous monuments; in erecting which, wealthy persons spend great sums of money.

State of the soul. After this ceremony, the relations think no more of the defunct, nor ever name him: because, according to the doctrine of the transmigration, which is received in this country, they believe the soul is gone to the place destined for it, and consequently belongs no longer to them. It is certain that they would willingly avoid those great expences, if they were not obliged to conform to an ancient custom, and afraid to offend their talepoy; who, to secure the gain arising from this practice, have inserted it in their ceremonial, as an indispensible law, to be observed by all; and the people are the rather inclined to comply with this usage, as they are told that, by neglecting to render the last duties to their predecessors, their survivors may be induced to refuse paying the same honour to them [d].

Their commerce. We have already taken notice of the trade and commodities, both exported and imported, of the particular kingdoms or provinces into which the upper and lower Lahos or Laos are divided: it remains only to observe, in general, that the commerce of these countries has passed into different channels, according to the vicissitude of affairs. We are told by Da Cruz, that musk and gold were carried to Siam, before the Bramas conquered Pegu [e]; after which period, it was removed thither. The trade with Siam, in process of time, was restored: but the king of Siam having invaded the Laos, and taken a province from them, ruined the good understanding, which had subsisted between the two nations, and caused the trade to be removed to Kamboja; whither the Laos carried their benjamin and lak, which meets with a good sale there, because better than the kinds which grow in the country.

Language and characters. The language of the Laos, or Lanjans, as well as their characters, are much the same with those of the Siamese; who, they say, have had the art of writing, and their sa-

[d] Marini, p. 354, & seq. [e] Da Cruz, ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 168.

cred

cred language, from them: but they cannot pronounce the letters L and R. They write on the leaves of trees, like the Peguers and Malabârs; but matters relating to civil affairs are inſcribed on a ſort of coarſe paper, with earthern pins.

Religion of the Lanjans.

Primitive Religion, Providence, Origin of Things, &c.

THE religion of the Lanjans, and probably of all the Lahos or Laos, is nearly the ſame with that which prevails in all the countries compriſed in the Farther Peninſula of the Indies. They lived a long time in form of a republic, and obſerved the laws of nature, rather than thoſe of the Chineſe their neighbours, which they, in part, followed, before they had kings, and were ſubject to their empire. The worſhip of images was, in thoſe times, unknown to them; uncorrupted as they were with the ſuperſtitions of other nations. The open ſky was their temple; and they adored one Being, whom they eſteemed above all things, under the name of Commander. They had ſome imperfect notions touching the origin of things; but held that this inferior world would be renewed; and that there were ſixteen other worlds or kingdoms under heaven, one ſubordinate to the other. *Their primitive religion corrupted by Shaka.*

In this ſimple and uncorrupted ſtate the Lanjans continued, till ſuch time as the diſciples of Shaka began to ſpread their doctrines over the Eaſt. Some will have it that they received this polluted religion from the Chineſe; but the Jeſuit Murini rather follows thoſe who think they had it from Siam. Preſently after the diſciples of Shaka arrived in this kingdom, the Lanjans ſaw themſelves ſurrounded with temples conſecrated to idols, and prieſts named talapoy, deſtined to their ſervice. Theſe prieſts, ſoon getting the aſcendant over the minds of the people, preſcribed laws to them; and introduced books written in Indian characters, which the Lanjans did not underſtand; in order to render their doctrine the more myſterious and ſacred, as coming from the hands of Shaka [z].

The ſchools of thoſe who paſs for doctors, and heads of their religion, conſiſt in three principal claſſes, which are filled with laymen, as well as clergy. The doctrines *Their ſchools.*

[z] Marini, p. 376, & ſeqq.

taught

taught in the firſt claſs concern the origin of the world, of men, and the gods; mixed with a thouſand fabulous and ridiculous circumſtances, which extravagances are ſubſtituted in place of the ancient law. In the ſecond claſs they treat of the religion of Shaka, which paſſes for the new law. In the third they are employed to reconcile the oppoſite principles, to ſolve doubtful paſſages, with the opinions of thoſe who have written about them; and to reconcile the ancient doctrine with the new.

Origin of the world. According to this new theology, the Lanjans believe that the heavens are from all eternity; and that, perpendicularly under them, lie ſixteen terreſtrial worlds, containing all the pleaſures of life, which, in the higheſt, are in greateſt perfection. They hold likewiſe that this earth, which we inhabit, is eternal; but that after a certain revolution of years, fire will deſcend from heaven, and reduce the whole maſs to water. Yet things are not to continue in this ſtate; for they who dwell in the firſt heaven, and of whoſe care this earth is the peculiar object, will re-unite the ſcattered parts together, and eſtabliſh it in its former condition.

Government of the World. Reign of Shaka.

Government of the world. WITH reſpect to the origin of the world, they have three different traditions, each more deplorably abſurd than another. Their account of its being peopled with men of different colours, is ſuch as could never gain credit but among creatures involved in the groſſeſt ignorance and ſtupidity. They ſay there were four gods; three of whom, after they had governed the world for the ſpace of fifty years, being weary of ſo great a trouble, retired into a very high and ſpacious pillar, ſituated towards the north, where they enjoy all the ſweetneſs of life, which a man who loves his eaſe can deſire. At preſent, they ſay, the god Shaka governs the world, and is to reign five thouſand years, of which three thouſand are yet to come. That, after he had raiſed himſelf to a degree of perfection, greater than any perſon ever can attain, he reſolved to paſs to a ſtill higher degree, never heard of before, which was to annihilate himſelf. But leſt this perfect ſtate of nothingneſs, ſhould be attended with any bad conſequences, and the world ſuffer inconveniences by being deprived of his protection, he, before his annihilation, commanded temples to be erected in ſeveral kingdoms, and an infinite number of ſtatues to

Reign of Shaka.

be

be made in braſs and marble, with a deſign to honour them with his preſence on ſolemn feſtivals, wherever great numbers of people ſhould be aſſembled; and, by blowing on them before all the congregation, communicate to them his divinity, which might ſupply his place, by aſſiſting them who ſhould pray to him in their neceſſities [a].

His ſucceſſor.

After the five thouſand years of Shaka's government are expired, the Lanjans expect another god, whom they name Famit-Tay. This deity will demoliſh all the temples which he finds ſtanding; throw down and break in pieces the images, burn the books, perſecute and prohibit the exerciſe of all religions, particularly that of Shaka; he will alſo preſcribe new laws, promulgate other ſacred books, chooſe other talapoy; in one word, change and reform every thing once more.

State of the Soul, Hell, and Paradiſe.

Ancient doctrine of ſouls.

ALTHOUGH the talapoy have had ſome knowlege of hell, yet they do not care to ſpeak of it, for fear of diſturbing the thoughts of their followers, who are immerſed in ſenſuality. They who ſtill adhere to the doctrines of the ancient law, and deny the tranſmigration of ſouls, ſay, that thoſe of the wicked are annihilated at their death; but that the ſouls of good perſons aſſume a body of air as pure and ſimple as the light of the ſun. After this change, paſſing through the ſixteen heavens, where they enjoy all the pleaſures with which they abound, they return at length very happy, to re-unite themſelves with their bodies, and become men, in the ſame condition which they enjoyed before; but ſo repleniſhed with goods of every kind, as by their means to obtain the rank of kings.

The preſent doctrine.

On the contrary, the followers of the doctrine of Shaka, and the fabulous hiſtories of the prieſts, hold that the ſouls of bad men have no retreat after this life but hell, where they muſt expiate their crimes by ſuffering inconceivable torments. Their hell is divided into ſix wards, where there are ſo many degrees of puniſhments, and is ſituated under that vaſt column of the ſixteen worlds, which compoſe the paradiſes of the bleſſed. They who are condemned to go thither, languiſh in torments for the ſpace of ſome ages, after which they return to this world;

[a] Marini, p. 385, & ſeq.

but

but before they re-animate a human body, they are obliged to enter thoſe of animals, beginning with the moſt contemptible, and gradually tranſmigrating into the more noble, till at length they aſſume a human ſhape, as before, but yet in the moſt deplorable circumſtances; in hopes, however, of being raiſed to a more proſperous ſtate, provided they give liberally to the talapoy. In this caſe, when they come to die a ſecond time, they ſhall obtain a paſs to be admitted into one of the ſixteen paradiſes, without being obliged to do any farther penance. From thence likewiſe, when tired with delights, they may return to this world, not indeed in the form of deified men, but infirm and imperfect like thoſe who are here at preſent; however, with theſe advantageous circumſtances, that they ſhall be careſſed and honoured on account of the riches they ſhall be poſſeſſed of both in this world and in heaven, which will ſhower down gold upon them in profuſion, to anſwer the ſeveral occaſions of life [b].

Various tranſmigrations.

But whereas loſſes, diſgraces, and other misfortunes, attend their moſt zealous devotees and benefactors, no leſs than others; to ſolve this difficulty, they pretend that ſuch afflictions are the puniſhment of the crimes committed by them in a former life, although they have no remembrance of ſuch tranſgreſſion. Theſe impoſtors likewiſe promiſe a manſion in the ſixteenth heaven to thoſe who ſhall be charitable to them; on the other hand, they declare, that the evils which happen to thoſe who either cannot or will not beſtow alms on them, as well as to infidels, are a juſt puniſhment for their avarice; and becauſe they have preferred riches to the joys of heaven, therefore the idol begins to chaſtiſe them in this life; but let a man be ever ſo vicious, diſhoneſt, or wicked, all is well, provided he is but charitable, and gives alms to the prieſts.

Talapoy evaſions.

On a certain day ſeveral of the moſt underſtanding talapoy, or prieſts of different ſects, met in preſence of one of the miſſionaries, in order to reconcile ſo many various opinions, and bring people to one way of thinking. After a long conference they came to this deciſion, that there was certainly another life; that the reward to be expected in it was a plurality of wives, and the puniſhment to be feared conſiſted in not having any. The Jeſuit aſked them, if a charitable man was to be rewarded with ſeveral wives, how many huſbands was the woman to have who gave conſiderable alms? They were ſo puzzled

Polygamy a future reward.

[b] Marini, p. 391, & ſeq.

by

by this unexpected queſtion, that they went back to their convents, and turned over their books; but not meeting with any thing to the purpoſe, came to this reſolution among themſelves, that ſuch a woman, for her reward, would be changed into a man; and that they who were covetous would become the wives of devils, or of ſome talapoy, black, filthy, old, and deformed; in ſhort, more horrible than the devil himſelf.

Their Prieſts, Orders, Habits, Exerciſes.

ALTHOUGH the prieſts of Lao are called talapoy, a name borrowed from Pegu, yet, in the language of the country, they are named ſé. This claſs of men are reckoned the moſt perfidious in all the kingdom, as well as the very dregs of the people. A lazy, ſlothful race, the ſworn enemies of induſtry. Their convents are ſo many ſeminaries of very profligate men, retreats of vagabonds and drones; in a word, ſchools of all ſorts of wickedneſs and abomination. The baſer their extraction, the more proud and inſolent they become, when raiſed to that dignity. They are hard-hearted and inhuman beyond expreſſion; more mercileſs and cruel than the wild beaſts; but what can be expected from men, who ſacrifice every thing to their intereſts, and devote all their wit and vigour to debauchery [c]. This is the picture of the prieſts of Lao, painted by the Jeſuits, exactly like that which the proteſtants draw for the prieſts of Rome. *Prieſts their name.*

The talapoy begin to embrace a religious life in their moſt tender age, and inure themſelves to the rigours of the profeſſion during their noviciate, which continues till they are twenty-three. At that age, they are examined on the ſubjects of their theology, and ceremonies, by perſons appointed by the community, who, on their report, receive the novice into their body, by majority of voices. The new talapoy now ſeeks out ſome magiſtrate who is rich, and well related, to aſſiſt him in quality of godfather. Although this office is expenſive, yet as it is reckoned an honour to be applied to on that account, nobody refuſes it. On the contrary, the invitation is received with great complaiſance; and the perſon who accepts it, always acquits himſelf with the greateſt pomp, in order to gain the applauſe of the people, as well as the approbation of the talapoy. *The novices how become profeſſed.*

[c] Marini, p. 341.

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In the firſt place, the magiſtrate, choſen godfather, preſents the novice with rich habits; then, on the day appointed, he orders his beſt trained elephant to be pompouſly harneſſed, and, with a little houſe on his back, led to the convent: where the novice mounts the animal, and iſſues forth, at the head of the principal lords of the city, richly dreſt, followed by ſeveral regiments of foot, and a multitude of people. In this order they march through the principal ſtreets, to the temple, where the novice is to make his profeſſion; and the ceremony often laſts till night. A feaſt is afterwards made in the temple, whoſe altars ſerve for tables, on which are ſerved the moſt coſtly viands; and, for three days, nothing paſſes there but revelling. During this time, all diſtinction of perſons is laid aſide; and a man of quality makes no difficulty to eat off the ſame plate with a mechanic. This expence, though exceeding great, does not come up to that which the preſent coſts, made by the magiſtrate to the new prieſt.

May quit the convent and return. The perſon, after this ſolemn profeſſion, may return to a ſecular ſtate; many of them marry, and live with their wives, as long as the ſubſtance laſts, which they amaſſed while talapoy; and when their ſtock is exhauſted, quit them, and retire again to their convents, where they are admitted without any oppoſition by the elders.

Their habits. The talapoy wear a ſhort caſſock of yellow linen, which reaches to their knees, and is girt about them with a red cloth. They go with their feet and right arm bare, carrying in their hand a fan, with ſome device, to denote their rank. They ſhave their heads, even to their eye-brows, twice a month, on the firſt days of the new and full moon [b].

Their convents, and ſuperiors. Their convents, where they live in community, are like thoſe of the Chartreuſians, and St. Romuald, among the Romiſh orders. All the cells are ſeparate, in which they have ſeveral little apartments, made with boards; whereas the ſuperior's cell is built with bricks, and the chambers very magnificently furniſhed, as well as decorated with curious ornaments finely gilded. His throne ſtands very high, and is furniſhed on the ſides with curtains of very coſtly ſilk. This officer is always choſen from among thoſe talapoy who are of an eſtabliſhed reputation, and have devotees of both ſexes, who ſupply them

[b] Marini, p. 401, & ſeqq.

plentifully

plentifully with all the neceſſaries and conveniences of life.

Theſe religious riſe at a certain hour; and before the ſun is high, walk out by two and two, very modeſtly, and with profound ſilence; then ſeparate to beg alms in different parts of the city. This taſk they perform by ſigns; and, at their return, laying up the daintieſt morſels for themſelves, give the reſt to their ſervants, or ſend it to the priſoners, after throwing a part to feed the poultry. When this diſtribution is over they break ſilence, and each repairs to his cell, where he breakfaſts. After this meal they go to ſleep for three hours, and then repair to the common refectory, where they find a table covered with all ſorts of proviſions, which are generally well dreſſed. As they live at the expence of others they uſually dine on ſmall birds, fowl, and game. If the victuals which their friends ſend them do not pleaſe them, they break the plates, and have the inſolence to threaten them in very injurious language. *Their employments and meals.*

After dinner they ſleep for an hour, then riſe, and go to their reſpective exerciſes. The novices ſtudy their ceremonies; the ſcholars read and write in two languages; one the vulgar, or common language of the country, the other peculiar to the talapoy, which may be called the learned language, as Latin is in Europe. The reſt apply themſelves to other amuſements. Some learn to ſing, others paſs their time in converſation at the door of the convent, where they receive viſits, and learn the news of the town. Towards evening they make a light ſupper without candles, and having ſaid grace, repair to the temple; there they ſing certain prayers, which ſometimes they contract, or hurry over, that they may go and take the air after ſun-ſet; becauſe then they are at liberty to do what they pleaſe[c].

They exert as much authority over the people as if they were their ſubjects. They always appear very ſerious, and affect a proud diſdainful air, with a great deal of gravity. They behave very haughtily to thoſe who are not liberal to them, ſcarce deigning to look at them. Their eyes are in perpetual motion, and their brows being ſhaved (A), this circumſtance adds to the ſeverity of their looks. *Pride and arrogance.*

[c] Marini, p. 405, & ſeq.

(A) This was cuſtomary among the Roman prieſts, according to the ſarcaſm of Cicero: "Capite et ſupercilliis ſemper eſt raſus, ne unum pilum boni viri habere dicas."

looks. When they want any thing, they do not civilly ask, but imperiously demand it; for with them the virtue of humility is reckoned meanness, and civility subjection.

The talapoy, in their convents, are not suffered to commit any debauchery; but if any of them is convicted of a crime, especially of having solicited and attempted to force a woman, a strict enquiry is made into the affair, and the aggressor punished according to the nature of the offence. As all matters relating to this insolent rabble are brought before the king, the accused appears at his tribunal; and however positively the crime may be proved upon him, yet if he has any thing at all to say in his defence, the king readily acquits him, in order to engage those religious in his interests, as having so great an influence over the people; but in case the crime be so flagrant and notorious as not to admit of any palliation, the offender is condemned for life to serve the elephants, which is the most infamous of all employments. Was his majesty to punish with equal severity all those who are caught in the fact, there would not, in a little time, be left one talapoy among the Lanjans; but as he calls himself their protector, and bears the title of general of their order, he is not willing to destroy the jurisdiction which he has over their sanctuary; besides, he is afraid, in case he should not be favourable to them, that they would raise a rebellion against him[d].

Confession.

Among other rules of the talapoy, they are obliged to go to confession fourteen days in every month. Their manner is like that observed in the Romish convents. They assemble in a great hall, where, being seated, according to their rank, the oldest leave their places one after another, and going into the midst of the company, on their knees declare aloud the faults which they have committed the preceding month, with regard to eating, drinking, diversions, anger, doing injury to others, speaking untruths, or the like. Absolution immediately follows the confession, each of them having power to give it; but where the satisfaction is so easy, they never scruple repeating the crimes.

Holy water.

They likewise make a kind of holy water; which they send to the sick, as a sovereign remedy, and keep a great quantity for the purpose; because, return, they get so many bottles of good wine.

[d] Marini, p. 408, & seqq.

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The honour which they give to the idols or images, does not conſiſt in ſacrifices; they only offer flowers to them, accompanied with perfumes, and a little rice, which they lay upon the altars; where ſolely on ſuch occaſions they light up tapers. They carry in their hands a kind of bracelets, conſiſting of one hundred beads ſtrung together like roſaries; theſe they con over, ſtanding before the image, and continually repeating their hymns. *Offerings to images.* *Beads.*

What has been ſaid relates to the talapoy who reſide in the towns; but there are others who lead a more ſolitary life, in caves of the woods and foreſts; the horrors of which, according to our author, are proper to conceal the enormity of their crimes. They retire to ſuch places to purſue their debauched inclinations with more freedom; and, by degrees, the reſort of women has become ſo great, that the ſolitude of theſe hermits is at preſent become a populous colony, and the deſerts may be ſaid to vie with the cities. Theſe hermits receive more alms than the talapoy of cities. They admit a faſt of three months, to diſpoſe them to celebrate their Eaſter [e]. *Talapoy of the woods.*

The number of theſe talapoy is ſo greatly increaſed, that, fearing they ſhall in time fall ſhort of neceſſaries, they learn all ſorts of trades, and work at them in their convents, which ſeem to be changed at preſent into ſo many ſhops of mechanics and merchants, whom they even circumvent in their buſineſs. *Talapoy knavery.*

The great credit which the talapoy have acquired in Lao, is owing chiefly to two cauſes, their ſkill in magic, and the king's protection. His majeſty, who is the general or grand-maſter of their religion, loads them with honours, and ſcreens them from proſecution. *The king's ſupremacy.*

Whenever he meets any individual of the prieſthood, his majeſty ſalutes him firſt, by raiſing the right-hand, which is the uſual mark of civility. He ſometimes gives up whole towns and villages to them, obliging the inhabitants to maintain the convents within their precincts. In 1640 a talapoy and his diſciples, having been detected in coining and uttering abundance of falſe money, the informations were carried before the council; but the king cauſed the indictment to be quaſhed by an order, in which, after taxing the laity with avarice, he praiſed the piety of the talapoy; who, for want of being relieved in their neceſſities, and finding their temples quite deſerted, had *Talapoy indulged.*

[e] Marini, p. 412, &c. ſeqq.

been obliged to invent a way of relieving themſelves by coining money [f].

Inſtance in an aſſaſſin who eſcaped puniſhment.

But this piece of lenity was infinitely more excuſable than that which he ſhewed on another occaſion. A talapoy having caſt a covetous eye upon the gold bracelets which two young ladies, who were ſiſters, wore upon their arms; under ſome pretence got acceſs to them, about nine or ten at night, and, thinking they were alone, murdered them both with a dagger. After this horrid murder, he began to plunder the chamber, in which he found a ſervant-maid concealed; and, to prevent a diſcovery, aimed to diſpatch her alſo; but the maid having fortunately avoided the blow, leaped out of the window into the ſtreet, and gave the alarm. The villain hereupon thought it time to withdraw; but was ſeen in his paſſage by three other ſervants, who, next morning, along with the girl, went to a magiſtrate, and gave information of the murder. The talapoy was cited before the king, in the hall of audience; where, on proteſting his innocence, and offering, in teſt of it, to undergo the ordeal trial, his majeſty commanded, that he ſhould remain ſeven days in the woods; and if, in that time, he received no hurt, either from the wild beaſts or venomous ſerpents, be declared innocent. The aſſaſſin accordingly repaired to the woods; but took care to engage a company of ſlaves to attend him as his guard; ſo that he came off unhurt. Upon this occaſion the king, though convinced of his guilt, ſaid, that the devil, in the ſhape of a talapoy, muſt have been the author of that execrable deed, in malice to thoſe prieſts, that they might no longer be conſidered as fathers and maſters. After this acquittal, the murderer, to be revenged on the poor girl who was his accuſer, proſecuted her ſo violently, that ſhe was condemned to loſe her liberty; nor did the king interpoſe in her favour [g].

Pretend to magic.

Magic and ſorcery are ſuppoſed the other means by which the talapoy have gained authority and reputation. Marini ſays they do things which ſeem miraculous; yet blames the credulity of the people, who, on that account, think them to be more than men; but the Jeſuit himſelf ſeems to have been equally ignorant and ſuperſtitious.

Impoſe on the ſick.

When a poor man is ſick, they agree to cure him for his weight in rice; and then ſend him one of their caſt-off habits to wear, as a ſovereign remedy. As they believe there is ſomething ſacred in the very touch of a talapoy,

[f] Marini, p. 415, & ſeq. [g] Idem, p. 419, & ſeqq.

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the patient often ſends a new garment for the prieſt to ſanctify, by putting it on his back; but, inſtead of returning it, the prieſt ſends him one of his own in tatters; aſſuring him it is equal to the moſt precious relic [b].

Oftentimes the chief officers of ſtate do not diſdain to ſerve the talapoy in the moſt ſervile offices. They go in winter into the woods, fell timber, carry it on their ſhoulders to the city, and through the ſtreets, to the convents, in order to let the people ſee, that it is an honour to ſerve thoſe religious men. During the great heats, theſe noblemen carry alſo to the talapoy veſſels full of medicinal waters; accompanied with ſimples, and choice perfumes, for their uſe, when they go to bathe. *Served by noblemen.*

The principal revenue of the talapoy ariſes from the offerings which are made in honour of Shaka, in April, which is the month of their jubilee and plenary indulgence. On this occaſion the idol Shaka is expoſed to view upon an eminence, in a great court, accompanied with talapoy; who receive the immenſe offerings which are made of gold, ſilver, rice, cloth, ſtuff, and all ſorts of neceſſaries. In all probability, the prieſts, who are appointed to guard the ſtatue, purloin a large quantity of gold and ſilver, without its being miſſed; the ſums which they receive are ſo prodigiouſly great. All theſe alms and offerings are hung up in the temple; ſo that when the inferior talapoy come to ſweep it, they take a good ſhare, over and above what they find on the ground. *Feſtival or jubilee.*

Marini learned from a Tong-king lord, who was ambaſſador at the court of Lanjang, in the time of this great ſolemnity, that he obſerved a tower in the middle of the temple, about one hundred cubits high, pierced on all ſides, and adorned with many large windows, for the better view of Shaka's ſtatue; which is placed in the middle, and ſurrounded with numerous leaves of fine gold, like tinſel, which hang about it, and with the gentle motion of the air, make ſuch a ſweet and agreeable harmony, that one would imagine it was a concert of ſeveral muſical inſtruments: they were hung there to ſerve as ſo many little veils, to hinder inſects from getting to the idol. The great altar was decorated with two pillars of ſolid gold, ten cubits high, and porportionably thick, which were always expoſed to view, without danger of being ſtolen. *Shaka's ſtatue.*

[b] Marini, p. 416, 421, & ſeqq.

Preaching and Commandments.

Art of the talapoy.

DURING the month of April, the talapoy preach every day in the temple, to multitudes of people, and never change their text; which is to endeavour to perſuade their auditors, there is no time in the year ſo proper to render themſelves worthy of the benefits both of this life and the next. In this hope they make every day a holiday: all buſineſs, as well public as private, is laid aſide; and people mind nothing but to make preſents, and viſit the temples, which, at that time, are always open. To render the viſit more agreeable, and draw even thoſe whom devotion could not move, the talapoy provide all ſorts of diverſions in the courts and porches of the temple, which are finely adorned. There the people are entertained with comedians, who recite verſes, and act very agreeable farces. Others expoſe to view ſeveral ſorts of workmanſhip; and, in ſhort, every one does what pleaſes him moſt: ſome ſing; others dance, or play on inſtruments; all in view of Shaka, annihilated.

Way of preaching.

The way of preaching here, as well as in Tong-king, is to ſtand up, motionleſs, the arms acroſs the breaſt.

Commandments and diſpenſations all reduced to charity.

Towards the end of the ſermon, the preacher exhorts his auditors to an exact obſervance of the law, which conſiſts in five negative precepts: 1. Not to kill any thing which has life. 2. Not to commit adultery. 3. Not to lie, or deny the truth. 4. Not to ſteal. 5. Not to drink wine. But theſe commandments are very ill obſerved; and the talapoy, who aſſume the power of giving diſpenſations, ſell them without ſcruple; but the crafty prieſts never grant them for more than one precept at once; and that only for a certain term: ſo that when the time is expired, they are obliged to apply for a new licence to ſin. Theſe inſtruments are written with an iron ſtyle, on palm-tree leaves, in characters which none, perhaps, can read, but he who traces them.

But, nothing in their ſermons, is ſo ſtrongly inculcated as the neceſſity of giving alms, from which there can be no diſpenſation. The preacher is continually telling the people, that if they will not obſerve this ſingle precept, which is ſo eaſy to be performed, it is a ſure ſign that they do not believe in Shaka; that it is indifferent to them whether their holy faith and religion be preſerved in the kingdom, or whether there be any talapoy there to teach it, and pray for them; ſo that the poor Lanjan laity, to avoid

avoid the wrath of Shaka, pay to the prieſts, under the title of alms, not only yearly, but every month, the tithe of all they get by the ſweat of their brows.

Arts of talapoy to force alms.

The day before the full moon, from whence they begin their month, according to their rubrics, is always conſecrated to offerings, which they accompany with the following ceremonies: firſt, they require that every one ſhould carry his preſent on his head, ſo that all may ſee it; and, as the people aſſemble on that occaſion, the talapoy ſend perſons to ſound the trumpet, and play on ſeveral other inſtruments: in order, as they pretend, not ſo much to do honour to the people who make the offerings, as to ſolicit the governors of heaven to receive them as alms given the talapoy, in honour of Shaka.

We have dwelt the longer on this ſubject, to give our reader as full an account as we could of the religion of Shaka, known in the Hither Peninſula, by the name of Budda; in China by that of Fo, or She-kya; and in Tibet, whence it had its original, by the name of La. After all, we muſt acknowlege, that the accounts we have received of all theſe various ſuperſtitions are imperfect, inconſiſtent, and often irreconcileable.

Government of Lanjang.

Chief officers.

THE country of Laos is divided among ſeveral kings, concerning whom we meet with nothing more than what hath been related, excepting the ſovereign of Lanjang.

The principal dignities and offices of this kingdom are eight. The firſt is that of viceroy-general, who manages one part of ſtate-affairs, and aſſiſts the king in all matters which concern the government. On the demiſe of his majeſty, it is his buſineſs to aſſemble the council, convene the ſtates, and in ſhort take on him the quality of regent, until the ſucceſſor is enthroned; all other officers or miniſters being obliged to obey him: and becauſe the kingdom is divided into ſeven provinces, there are appointed ſeven other viceroys, with equal power, for the government of them; but they reſide continually at court, as the king's companions in office, and his counſellors, where they enjoy the revenues, and other benefits, of their reſpective departments, which they commit to the care of their lieutenants, or deputy-governors. Beſides the provinces, there are other leſſer governments which depend on the greater, in reſpect both to civil and military affairs.

Each province has its own militia, consisting of both horse and foot, whose officers depend on the viceroy or governor, he on the prime viceroy, and this last on the king. The troops subsist on revenues assigned them in each province, and are obliged to serve on all occasions which the kingdom may require [a].

Their state. The governors appear with large retinues, and often oppress the people. However, the king does not countenance such acts of injustice, and they are punishable by the laws. His majesty, far from abusing his power in that manner, as soon as he is informed that a merchant has brought any curiosity into his kingdom which he wants, immediately orders him not to expose it to sale, and sends the full value of it, to prevent the ruin of commerce, the duties arising from which are of great advantage to his revenue [b]. What is still more barbarous in these governors, they often enter into measures to destroy particular men; for being infatuated with the belief in magic and witchcraft, they hire assassins to hunt and kill men in the woods, in order to procure their gall, for making charms [c], as hath been before related.

Laws few. With regard to laws, the Lanjangs have very few, nor need they many, where they have the customs of the country for the guide and rule of their conduct. Besides, the will of the king stands in place of laws, where they are wanting; nor does he exert that authority to the detriment of his subjects: and in matters of dispute, the opinion of the judges in former cases is made use of as precedents. There is one custom almost peculiar to this country: this is, a certain subjection and dependence which every family has on one person, as the chief or superior; so that all the Lanjangs, excepting the talapoy, who do not descend in a right line from the principal branch of any family, must depend thereon during their lives, without ever having it in their power to free themselves.

Subjection of families to their chief. When they, who issue directly from the main branch, come to marry, the family divides itself in such a manner, that the male descendants follow the degree and branch of the father, the female race adhere to those of the mother. This dependence or subjection is very strict and incommodious. First, they are obliged twice a year to pay their

[a] Marini Hist. de Tunq. & Lao, p. 358, & seq. [b] Marini, p. 546, & seq. [c] Ibid. p. 349.

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acknowlegements, and make preſents to the head of the family: ſecondly, they are obliged to ſerve their chief in whatever he commands them, whether he wants to build a houſe, to celebrate an idol-feaſt, or take a journey, they are obliged to attend him at their own expence, to obey his orders, and contribute to the expence of the work. On the road ſome muſt ſerve him as ſoldiers for his guard, and others as his domeſtics. This cuſtom proves of great uſe to the king, who in a ſhort time may raiſe a conſiderable army; for he has nothing to do but to gain over the chiefs of families. The worſt of all is, that by the ſame cuſtom, if the chief happens to be convicted of any enormous crime, all thoſe who in the leaſt degree of affinity belong to him, are at the ſame time ſtripped of all their rights, and become more miſerable than ever; for they are deſtined to ſerve the king's elephants, to gather herbs for them every day, to keep them clean, and watch them in the night.

Juſtice how adminiſtered.

Juſtice is not altogether well adminiſtered; and becauſe crimes are very rarely committed here, many laws are not required. However, they have a few, which prove ſufficient to preſerve peace and union among them. The ſeverity, for inſtance, with which not only blows, but angry words, are puniſhed, is a great means of keeping people in awe. With regard to civil matters, juſtice is in a very languid ſtate. They have no comments to explain their laws; ſo that they are all ſubject to the interpretation of the judges, who are not without their prejudices, and may, on the ſlighteſt grounds, condemn the parties, who cannot appeal from their ſentence, but moſt ſuffer the penalty which cuſtom has eſtabliſhed [d].

The king.

The king of Lanjang is an abſolute independent prince, and acknowleges no ſuperior either in temporal or ſpiritual affairs. The property of lands lies wholly in him, who diſpoſes at pleaſure of the effects belonging to his ſubjects; nor can any family in the kingdom inherit or poſſeſs any thing left them by will.

No nobility.

One here meets with no kind of nobility; nor is it to be acquired either by birth, riches, or virtuous actions. Employments, honours, and wealth, depend ſolely on the king, who confers thoſe benefits on whom he pleaſeth, and reſumes them at their deaths. The moſt he does in favour of their children, is to leave them in poſſeſſion of

[d] Marini, p. 370, & ſeqq.

the moveable effects; as for houſes and lands, money and arms, they all return into the exchequer. No man can ſay he is maſter of one foot of land, only the talapoy can diſpoſe of ſuch ſpots as are inhabited; but as for the reſt, the king diſtributes them among the governors and commanders, to ſome more, to others leſs. Theſe farm them out for three years only to perſons who agree to give one half of the third year's produce to the king.

Viceroy. Every viceroy has a very numerous retinue; but the court of the king, whoſe ſplendor is vaſtly increaſed by the magnificence of theſe grandees, appears chiefly in the incredible number of pages who compoſe it. Theſe are always at hand to ſolicit for vacant places, to which they are promoted according to the years which they have ſerved; but, generally ſpeaking, they are advanced through favour more than merit, as is the caſe in other countries.

Their ſtate. Beſides the above mentioned officers, there is an infinite number of others, who have their different occupations. The rank of all courtiers is diſtinguiſhed by certain gold or ſilver boxes, which their pages carry after them wherever they go. The prime viceroy has the privilege of riding upon an elephant richly harneſſed, whenever he goes abroad; but the reſt are allowed only to be carried in little chairs, adorned with cloth of gold, and accompanied with ſeveral footmen in handſome liveries. The other officers, let their quality be what it will, are obliged to go on foot; and although they have their boxes alſo, yet they muſt not be carried after them expoſed to public view [e].

King of Lanjan ſeldom appears. The king of Lanjan is very proud, and will not yield the ſuperiority to the emperor of China himſelf. To inſpire his ſubjects with the greater veneration for his perſon, he appears but ſeldom in public; and daily withdraws himſelf more and more from the eyes of his ſubjects, as if he was of a ſpecies ſomething more than human. He is diſtinguiſhed from others only by the holes made in the fleſhy part of his ears, which are of an extraordinary ſize: they are made ſo wide by ſtretching the holes with pipes, putting in a larger every month, till at length the tips of his majeſty's ears touch his ſhoulders. He wears no crown, but ſuch as the ancient emperors uſed, which is a gold band or ribband, which ſerves alſo to bind his hair.

[e] Marini, p. 357, & ſeqq.

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His Lanjan majeſty ſhews himſelf but twice a year to his ſubjects: who, in return for that honour, ſtrive to divert him, by means of elephants trained to do a thouſand little tricks; and wild beaſts, whom they ſet a fighting. They have alſo wreſtlers and gladiators on this occaſion, who exert their ſtrength and utmoſt ſkill to pleaſe the king.

Viſits temples.

But the time to ſee the court in all its ſplendor is when the king goes to viſit ſome temple; on which occaſion all the magnificence of the kingdom is diſplayed in the dreſs and equipage of the officers, as well as of his majeſty himſelf, mounted on a lofty elephant richly accoutred. The king is preceded by his chief officers, and followed by a multitude of horſemen, armed with muſkets, and in good order. The cavalcade is cloſed with ſeveral beaſts loaded with preſents, which his majeſty, in behalf of his people, is to make to the idol; whoſe temple, on that occaſion, reſembles an exchange, rather than a place of devotion. On this day the women are not permitted to ſtir out of their houſes: but, when the king paſſes by, they appear at the windows, and ſprinkle both him and his preſents with the perfumed waters of naffe. His majeſty is met at ſome diſtance from the temple by the talepoy, dreſt in their moſt pompous habits, who attend him through the ceremony, and, at the end, divide the moſt valuable offerings among themſelves.

His audiences.

The magnificence which appears in this feſtival exceeds that which is diſplayed at court, when an ambaſſador is to have his audience, or the petty kings, who are his tributaries, come to pay him homage. On this occaſion he receives them in a great hall, ſitting on a very high throne, and dreſſed in his robes of ceremony. He returns their compliments by the mouth of his chancellor; and never ſpeaks to them but by an interpreter [f].

Hiſtory of Lanjang.

Ancient ſtate, free and independent.

WE meet with very little in authors concerning the hiſtory and affairs of the Lanjans; they were, many centuries ago, in ſubjection to China; as were all the other countries of the Farther Indian Peninſula: but, after they had ſhaken off the yoke, and were powerful, they formed themſelves into a kind of republic, which continued till

[f] Marini, p. 361, & ſeqq.

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the year of Chriſt 600, when their ſtate became a monarchy.

The country having become more populous by the great reſort of Siameſe, who had liberty to ſettle there; the Lanjans, to ſecure the power to themſelves, elected a chief or commander, whom they inveſted with all the authority, and acknowleged for their ſovereign. But factions ariſing among them, through the intrigues of the Siameſe; theſe latter, having a powerful party, procured one to be raiſed to the throne, who was of the family of the kings of Siam. From this prince the kings of Lao, or rather Lanjan, have been lineally deſcended, for above a thouſand years; inſomuch that they ſtill retain both the language and dreſs of their anceſtors. From this time, likewiſe, they ſeem to have continued independent, although ſome authors report that they pay tribute to the king of Tong-king[a]. But that is a miſtake, ariſing from a circumſtance with which they were not ſufficiently acquainted.

Subject to Ava. The governor of a province of Lao having uſurped the ſovereignty, the king of Tong-king, to whom that province formerly belonged, invaded and obliged him by force to pay him tribute. But, towards the end of the ſixteenth, or beginning of the ſeventeenth century, the king of Ava made himſelf maſter, not only of that province, but of all Lao, whoſe inhabitants he carried to Pegu, in order to people that country. The Lanjans, who bore their captivity with the utmoſt impatience, at length formed a general conſpiracy, to recover their liberty; and riſing on a day appointed, put the Peguers to the ſword, wherever they met with them. Their enterprize was attended with ſuch great ſucceſs, that, had they purſued their good fortune, they might eaſily have reduced the whole kingdom under their ſubjection: but the deſire they had to return to their own country made them haſten thither, from whence they quickly expelled their enemies. The news of this revolution coming to the ears of the natives, who had fled for ſhelter into the neighbouring mountains and foreſts, they preſently returned, and re-peopled Lanjan, the capital of this kingdom, which ſoon recovered its former ſplendor, under its legitimate king.

[a] Marini, ubi ſupra, p. 356.

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The king of Ava and Pegu not being able, at that juncture, to revenge the inſult, diſſembled his reſentment; and the better to compaſs his deſign by fraud, pretended to relinquiſh his right to the kingdom, and make an alliance with the Lanjans; contenting himſelf, with a very ſmall acknowlegement on their ſide. Mean while he, under-hand, made great preparations for war: but his death, which happened in the year 1647, fruſtrated his intentions. However, his ſucceſſor, purſuing the ſame ſcheme, ſent ambaſſadors to the Lanjans, with rich preſents, and very obliging letters; by which he demanded, but in very moderate terms, a yearly tribute of only one choice elephant, and a beautiful maiden. The king of Lao, far from agreeing to the propoſal, was ſo provoked, that he cauſed the ambaſſadors and their equipage to be ſeized as ſpies. At the ſame time he ſent ſome of his beſt troops towards the frontiers of Pegu, where the king of Ava had his magazines filled with warlike ſtores, ready for his intended enterprize: but as he left them unguarded, in order to take off all ſuſpicion, the Lanjans came on them by ſurprize, and burnt them to the ground. This unexpected blow ruined all the meaſures of that formidable monarch, who durſt neither attack them, nor purſue their retreat, as well for want of ammunition, as for fear of a rebellion, knowing himſelf hated by his own ſubjects[b].

Throw off the yoke, become independent.

This is all the account we are able to give of the affairs of Lanjan; having received very little information from that country ſince the middle of the laſt century, when the miſſioners found it impracticable to propagate their religion among the inhabitants, who were too much under the influence of their talapoy, or prieſts.

[b] Marini, p. 366, & ſeqq.

SECT

SECT. VIII.

The Kingdom of Siam.

Name, Extent, Mountains, Rivers, Soil, and Produce.

Its name. THE name of Siam was brought into Europe by the Portugueſe, who write alſo Sion, and had it probably from the people of Pegu, or the Malayans, who call it Tſiam [a]. This is not the appellation given to the country by the natives: but as Tſiam or Siam ſignifies *free* in the Peguan language, it ſeems to be a tranſlation of the indigenous name of the inhabitants, which is *Tay:* and hence the country is called Mouang or Muang Tay, that is, *the Kingdom of Freemen*, or *Franks*. They alſo call themſelves Tay-noe, *the little Tay*, or *Siams*; to diſtinguiſh them from the Tay-yay, or great Siams, who inhabit the northern mountains, and are reputed ſavages [b].

Bounds. Siam is ſurrounded by high mountains, which, on the eaſt ſide, ſeparate it from the kingdoms of Kamboja and Lahos, or Laos; on the weſt from Pegu; and on the north from Ava, or, more properly, from Jangomay, which is ſubject to Ava; on the ſouth it is waſhed by the gulf of Siam, and has the peninſula of Malakka, the north part of which is under its dominion.

Siam is ſituated between the 7th and 19th degree of latitude, containing twelve degrees, or about eight hundred and thirty-four Engliſh miles in length from ſouth to north; and between the 115th and 121ſt degrees of longitude: ſo that its greateſt breadth from weſt to eaſt is about four hundred miles; but towards the north it is not much above half that breadth.

The mountains which ſurround it. Siam being ſurrounded with mountains, and having very few hills within the intermediate country, may be ſaid to be one wide extended plain, with a great river, and its branches, running through it from north to ſouth. It is remarkable, that theſe great mountains, which make two huge chains, one on the weſt and the other on the eaſt ſide, diminiſh gradually as they advance ſouthward. That on the weſt ſide, having paſſed along the borders of Pegu, runs through the middle of the peninſula of Malakka, and terminates at the cape of Sinkapûra, the moſt ſouthern point

[a] Kæmpfer Hiſt. Japan. p. 25. [b] Loubiere Hiſt. Siam, p. 6, & ſeq.

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of all Asia, which separates the gulf or bay of Bengâl from that of Siam. The eastern chain, which divides Siam from Lahos and Kamboja, terminates at the cape of this last name, which makes the most eastern point of the gulf of Siam [c]. The kingdom of Siam extends on each side of the gulf like a horseshoe, beginning on the east side at the river of Chantabon, which divides it from Kamboja: on the opposite side it reaches as far south as Quedah and Patâna in the territories of the Malayans, of which Malakka was formerly the capital. Thus the coast runs about two hundred leagues along the gulf of Siam, and one hundred and eighty along that of Bengâl, affording great convenience for trade to the kingdom.

Several rivers, descending from these chains of mountains, fall into both gulfs, and render the coasts inhabitable [d].

The principal river of all Siam is called Menâm, Menân, or Meynâm, that is, *the Mother of Waters*, by way of excellency; Menâm being an appellation given to all great rivers through the Farther Indian Peninsula. The source of this river is either unknown to most of the inhabitants of these parts, or they misrepresent it, in order to magnify its origin. Hence travellers have given such different accounts: some, as Mendez Pinto, say, it rises in a lake called Chiamay, near a city of that name, several days journey to the north of Siam; but Loubiere could not hear of any such lake [e]. Gervaise says, it probably has its source in a great lake, discovered some years since in the country of Laos [f]; which, if there be any such, may be the lake of Chiamay. According to Kæmpfer, the Siamese derive it from the high mountains of Imaus; and report that it divides into several arms, which run through Kamboja, Siam, and Pegu, into the sea. They farther pretend, that these arms are joined by other smaller branches, not only among themselves, but also with the Ganges, rising in the same mountains, if they are not rather to be deemed branches of this last river [g]. *The river Menâm.*

As some make it a branch of the Ganges, so others derive it, still more extravagantly, from the Indus. But we are told that Mr. Le Clerc, a missioner, who ascended the Menâm as far as the frontiers of Lao, found it there very narrow; and the inhabitants assured him, that three days higher it was no more than a small brook descending from *Its origin.*

[c] See Loubiere, p. 3 & 7. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid. p. 3.
[f] Gervaise Relat. de Siam, p. 8. [g] Kæmpfer, p. 43.

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the mountains. This ſeems to be the moſt likely account of its origin; and agrees with what Mr. Loubiere relates, that it is ſo ſmall at its entrance into the kingdom of Siam, that for fifty leagues it carries only little boats, holding no more than four or five perſons.

Its courſe. Its courſe is from north to ſouth, through the whole country of Siam. As it advances towards the ſea, it is increaſed by other rivers, eſpecially on the eaſt ſide, and becomes very large at laſt, as it approaches the capital; from whence upwards, it is embaraſſed with rocks and cataracts: but their praws (or large boats), may be taken to pieces, and carried by land till thoſe obſtructions are paſt [h]. This river, deſcending from the city of Chiamay (A), and entering Siam, paſſes by the following cities: Me-tak, the firſt towards the north-north-weſt; then, ſucceſſively, Tiantong, Kampeng, or Kampeng-pet, which ſome pronounce Kampingue, Lakonſevan, Chaynat, Siam, Talakoan, Talaqucow, and Bankok (or Fon); ſeven miles below which it falls into the gulf of Siam by three mouths, the moſt navigable of which is that towards the eaſt [i].

Bar at the mouth. At the mouth, by the Siameſe called Pagnam Tauſia, it is a league wide; higher up it diminiſhes to one fourth of that breadth; and every-where above, as far as the capital city, it is two hundred paces over. Its channel all that way is deep, and pretty equal, navigable by veſſels of three or four hundred tons; and was it not for the bank or bar at its mouth, which has but eleven or twelve feet water in the higheſt floods, great ſhips might ſail up it; but, on account of that obſtruction, they are obliged to remain in the road, which is very ſafe. Its courſe from the city downwards is winding, making ſeveral agreeable iſles: the water is very clear, light, and good. It is full of fiſh, but has not ſuch variety as the *Full of fiſh.* rivers of France. The chief of them is called by the Europeans kaboche, about a foot and a half long, and ten or twelve inches thick, with a kind of flat and ſquare head: there are two ſorts; one aſh-coloured, the other black; this laſt is beſt for keeping. They dry them in the ſun, and have a great trade for them in the neighbouring countries. Here are crocodiles of a monſtrous ſize; and a little venomous fiſh, which, on being provoked, ſwells like a toad. It would be delightful ſailing on this river, whoſe banks are green and very populous, were not travellers ſadly tormented with gnats: in a word, its waters annu-

[h] Kæmpfer, ubi ſupra, p. 26. [i] Loubiere, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

(A) Doubtleſs Jamahey, capital of Jangomay.

ally

ally swell and overflow in March [u], at which time the country is drowned for above one hundred and twenty miles in circuit. To this periodical event, the kingdom not only owes its fertility, but has sometimes been obliged for its preservation: as it happened in 1587, when the vast army of Pegu, which besieged the capital city, was of a sudden surprised by the inundation, and the greater part of it destroyed [w]. *Overflows yearly.*

The map published by Mr. Loubiere exhibits another river called also Menâm, which rising in the mountains on the western borders of Lahos or Laos, runs southward, almost parallel with the former; and passing through Menang Fang, Pichay, Porselouk, and Pichit, falls into the great river at Lakon-sevan. The journal of the Chinese merchants, often quoted before, mentions two rivers of this country which have their sources in the kingdom of Laos; one called the river of Siam, which rises in the mountain Kyang-daw, the other Kyang-hay, or Kyang-lay, which falls into the great river [x]: but which of these, or whether either of them, is the river passing by Muang Fang, we cannot pretend to determine.

There are two other rivers of note which fall into the Great Menâm, near its mouth, one on the west side, which rises near the city of Kambori, to the south-west of Lakon-sevan; and from thence descending towards Papri, divides into two branches; the most northern, called Mahapram, joins the Great Menâm, a little to the north of the capital Siam; and the other falls into the sea, near Pipeli, towards the western mouth of the same river. *Other rivers falling into it.*

The river on the east side has its source a little above the city of Karazema, on the frontiers of the Laos: and, having passed by Kanayot and Perion, enters the sea at Banplasoy, near the eastern branch of the Menân.

Besides these, we meet with two other considerable rivers, which are, at present, within the bounds of this kingdom. The first is that of Tenassárim, which comes from the mountains of Ava, and is of great length; but the navigation is rendered difficult, by rocks and branches of trees, with which its channel is encumbered. It is likewise so rapid, that a vessel cannot ascend it above three or four leagues a day: it passes almost due south to the city of Tenassarim; and then turning suddenly to the *That of Tenasserim.*

[u] Gervaise, ubi supra, p. 7, & seqq. [w] See Pimenta, apud Purch. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746. [x] Du Halde's Descr. of China, vol. i. p. 62.

north-

north-weſt, about thirteen leagues from thence, falls into the bay of Bengâl, at the port of Merghey.

River of Chantebon. The other river is that of Chantebon, which, though not ſo large as ſome of thoſe before mentioned, carries large veſſels with greater eaſe than any of them; and has always fourteen or fifteen feet water at its entrance [y].

Soil and produce. The country of Siam may be divided into cultivated and uncultivated lands; of which latter it for the moſt part conſiſts; being covered with woods of bambû, and other trees. The moſt profitable trees to the Siameſe, are thoſe which produce cotton, oil, and varniſh. Their varniſh is very good, but they know not how to make uſe of it. The foreſts afford timber for building ſhips and houſes, for wainſcotting and carving. There is both light and heavy wood; ſome eaſy to cleave, others which will not cleave at all: this is called wood Mary, and is better than any other for the ribs of ſhips. Here is alſo the iron-wood, very heavy and tough, of which anchors are made. It is ſaid to have the quality of corroding iron in time. There is a wood as light as fir, and of the ſame colour, but more fit for carving, as it never flies in ſplinters, under the chiſſel.

Uſeful timber.

The Siameſe have alſo trees ſo tall and ſtrait, that one alone is ſufficient to make a boat, or balon, ſixteen or twenty fathom long. They have the cinnamon-tree, the beſt next to that of Seylan; ſapan, and other woods proper for dying; the aquila, or aloes wood, better than what other countries produce, though not ſo good as the kalamba of Kochin-china. This wood is found only in pieces; being nothing but rotten parts of particular trees. All trees of the kind have it not, nor is it always to be met with in the ſame part of thoſe which have it; ſo that it requires a tedious ſearch in the woods [z].

Mines. From the multitude of ſtatues, and other caſt works, great numbers of which are of gold, as well as from the gilded roofs of their temples, one would imagine that Siam muſt be rich in mines. However, they have of late ſought in vain for mines, either of gold or ſilver. The king had made a metal called tambuk, by mixing a little gold with copper, Mr. Vincent, a French phyſician, diſcovered a mine of very good iron, and another of cryſtal; together with antimony, emeril, and other minerals: beſides a quarry of white marble. They have plenty of lead

Tambuk metal.

[y] Gervaiſe, ubi ſupra, p. 11, & ſeqq.

[z] Loubiere, ubi ſupr. p. 11, & ſeqq.

and

and tin, called kalin, which is sold throughout India. It is soft, and not well purified: but, to render it whiter and harder, they mix it with kadmia, a mineral easily reduced to powder; and it is this white tin which is called totuinague. The kadmia, melted with copper, makes it yellow; but both metals become more brittle by the mixture. *Kalin and toutinague.*

There is a mountain of loadstone near the city of Louvo; and another near the city of Jonsalam, in the bay of Bengâl: but the latter loses its virtue in three or four months. The mountains afford very curious agate; and Mr. Vincent saw some pieces of sapphires and diamonds, with the talapoy, who busy themselves much in such kinds of searches. They have mines of iron, which they know how to smelt, but are bad forgemen. They use wooden anchors to their gallies; and have neither chissels, saws, nor nails, nor even pins or needles: in building they use only pins made of bambû. They have some iron and copper padlocks; both sorts brought from Japan, for they make none themselves[a]. *Loadstone.*

The land of Siam seems to be formed by the mud descending from the mountains; to which mud, and the overflowing of the river, the soil owes its fertility; for in the higher places, and parts not covered by the inundation, all is dried up and burnt with the sun, soon after the rains are over. Those parts are likewise subject to contagious distempers, and the annoyance of insects, which the overflowings destroy. However, the ants, to avoid the water, make their nests in trees; partridges and pigeons obey the same instinct of nature. Among the insects are the white ants, the marin-gowins, a kind of gnats; the mellipede, or palmer-worm, which carries a sting both in its head and tail. Lastly, little shining flies, with four wings; they have some light in their eyes, but their greatest splendour proceeds from under their wings when they fly. *Fertility.* *Insects.*

The Siamese reckon only three seasons in the year, winter, little summer, and great summer. The first, which lasts but two months, answers to our December and January; the second season is composed of the three following months, and the other seven form the great summer. Thus their winter happens nearly at the same time with our's; because, like us, they inhabit to the north of the line; but then it is as hot as our warmest *Three seasons.* *Winter.*

[a] Loubiere, p. 13, & seqq.

ſummer: ſo that they always cover their garden-plants againſt the heat of the ſun, as we do againſt the cold in winter-nights: and yet the diminution appears to them very incommodious. The little ſummer is their ſpring; but they have no autumn. And as for their great ſummer, they might well make two of it, in imitation of the ancient authors, who ſpeak of the Indies; ſince they have the ſun directly over their heads twice during that hot ſeaſon [b].

Their winter is dry, and their ſummer rainy. Was it not that the ſun draws clouds and rain, and that the wind blows from one pole, when the ſun is declined towards the other, the torrid zone would doubtleſs be uninhabitable. Thus in Siam, that great luminary being to the ſouth of the line during winter, the north winds blow continually, and cool the air. On the contrary, in the ſummer, while he is to the north of the line, and vertical to the Siameſe, the ſouth winds reign in their turn; and thus either cauſe inceſſant ſhowers, or diſpoſe the weather to be rainy. It is this conſtant law of the winds which the Portugueſe call monçaos (K), and other nations after them monſoons. From hence alſo it is that ſhips can hardly get to the bar of Siam, during the ſix months of the north winds; or depart from it for the other ſix months, in which the ſouth winds command.

Monſoons.

Account of time.

The Siameſe have no word to expreſs week; but, like us, they call the ſeven days after the planets, and their Monday correſponds with our's; but the day begins ſix hours ſooner there than here. They begin their year on the firſt day of the moon in November or December, according to certain rules; and make uſe of a cycle of ſixty years, like moſt of the other eaſtern nations, which is compoſed of a leſſer cycle of twelve years, to each of which they give a name, five times repeated. Their months are twelve, conſiſting each of thirty days; neither of which are expreſſed by names, but by numbers [c].

Their grain.

Rice, called kaow, is the principal grain, and chief food of the Siameſe: this is the produce of the low lands; but wheat grows in thoſe which eſcape the inundation. Theſe lands they refreſh with watering-pots, or by overflowing them with rain-water, kept in ciſterns, raiſed on higher grounds. But whether it coſts more to rear it, or is not ſo well liked as rice, the king only uſes it; and that

[b] Loubiere, p. 15, et ſeqq. [c] Ibid. p. 18, & ſeq.

(K) From the Latin *motiones aeris*, according to Oſſorius and Maffi.

per-

perhaps more out of curiosity, than for any other reason. The Siamese, in their agriculture, employ both buffaloes and oxen; which they guide by means of a cord, run through the gristle of the beast's nose, with a knot on each side, that it may not slip in drawing. It also passes through a hole or ring, at the end of the draught-tree of the plough. Nothing is more simple than this machine, which consists of three pieces of wood; one is a long beam, which serves for the draught-tree or pole; another is crooked, serving for the handle; the third is a shorter and stronger piece, which is fastened underneath, at the end of the handle. It is this which bears the share; and these pieces are tied together with leathern thongs.

Pulse. One meets with Turkey wheat in Siam, but it is reared only in gardens. Their way is to boil or parch the whole ear, and then eat the inside. They have pease and other legumes, but different from our's. Mr. Loubiere saw excellent potatoes of the size and shape of parsnips; which, roasted under ashes, eat like a chesnut. He likewise met with siboules; but neither onions, garlick, cucumbers, situls, water-melons, parsley, bean, nor sorrel. They have no true melons, strawberries, raspberries, nor artichoaks; although they have plenty of asparagus, which they do not eat. They have no cellery, cauliflowers, coleworts, turnips, parsnips, carrots, leeks, lettuce; in short, most of the herbs, whereof we compose our sallads, are unknown to them: however, the soil of Siam may be proper for them, since they thrive about Batavia.

Flowers. Tuberoses and gillyflowers, amaranthuses and tricolors, are common in Siam; but roses and jessamines are very scarce. Excepting these, most of our flowers and plants are strangers there: nor have they so fine a scent as those of Europe; the excessive heat dissipating the fragrant smell, as well as the full taste of vegetables. And hence no good grapes can be produced in this country[y]. As to animals, such as elephants, rhinoceroses, and tigers, scorpions, and serpents, which last are of a monstrous size, we shall pass them over, as common to other countries; and shall only take notice of a kind of birds, called by the Siamese noktho, which are larger than ostriches, and whose bill is three feet long. Tachard saw one of a middling size, whose length, from the end of its bill to its feet, was four feet ten inches; and its wings, when extended, spread seven feet and a half. The colour of its feathers, on the neck and

Animals and birds.

[y] Loubiere, p. 17, & seq.

belly, was white; thoſe on the back, partly inclining to grey, partly to red. The wings a mixture of grey and white, but the great feathers at the end of them were black [z].

Provinces and Cities.

Upper Siam. THE kingdom of Siam is divided into the upper and lower. The upper, which lies to the north, contains ſeven provinces; denominated, from their chief cities, Porſelouk, Sanquelouk, Lakontay, Kampeng-pet, Kakonrepina, Peſhebon, and Pichay. Each of theſe provinces is ſubdivided into ſeveral other juriſdictions or diſtricts; Porſelouk contains ten; Sanquelouk, eight; Lankontay, ſeven; Kampeng-pet, ten; Kokonrepina, five; Peſhebon, two; and Pichay, ſeven. Beſides theſe, there are in the upper Siam twenty-one juriſdictions, which are ſo many leſſer provinces or diſtricts.

Lower Siam. In the lower, or ſouthern Siam, they reckon the provinces of Jor, Patany, Ligor, Tenaſſerim, Chantebon, Petelong or Bordelong, and Chiay. Jor is ſubdivided into ſeven leſſer provinces or diſtricts; Patâna, into eight; Ligor contains twenty; Tenaſſerim, twelve; Chantebon, ſeven; Petelong, eight; and Chiay, two. The lower Siam has, beſides the above-mentioned, thirteen other ſmall provinces or diſtricts: and the city of Siam has a province peculiar to itſelf, ſituated in the heart of the realm, between the upper and lower Siam [g]. Choiſy reckons in the whole kingdom no more than the following provinces; Siuteya, Bankok, Porſelouk, Pitpri, Pichay, Kæmpeng, Rapri, Tenaſſerim, Ligor, Kamburi, Konraſema, and Loukonſevan [h]. Conformably to this account Kempfer ſays, Siam contains twelve large provinces; and that the late king had added thirteen, doubtleſs Jangomay, taken from the Laos; but that a few years after it was reconquered from him [i].

Provinces in each.

Number of cities. If you believe the Siameſe, their country is full of ſplendid cities: but Gervaiſe informs us, that there are not more than nine in the whole kingdom which deſerve the name of cities; the reſt being no better than country towns and hamlets, nothing equal to thoſe in France, for either ſize or beauty [k]. Choiſy reckons up eight principal cities beſides the capital; namely Tannaſſerim, Jon-

[z] Tachard Voy. de Siam, tom. ii. p. 266. [g] Loubiere, p. 82.
[h] Choiſy, p. 523. [i] Kæmpfer, p. 26. [k] Gervaiſe, p. 41.

ſelang,

selang, Ligor, Pitpri, Bankok, Pourselonk, Kamburi, and Konrasema[l]. Loubiere mentions about twenty[m].

The first city of this kingdom towards the north is Metak, seated on the great Menâm. It is subject to an hereditary lord, called by some Paya-tak, or *Prince of Tak*; who, they say, is a vassal to the king of Siam. *Me-tak city.*

The next city which occurs on the same river is called Tian-tong, which signifies *true Gold:* but lay in ruins in 1688; supposed to have been reduced to that condition by the wars of Pegu.

Kampeng, or Kampeng-pet, which signifies *Walls of Diamond*, although they are but of stone, for the Siamese affect to give splendid names to their most indifferent towns, is by some pronounced Kampingue. It is famous for mines of excellent iron[n]. This city, which stands on the Menâm, is very ancient, and not inferior, for largeness, to the capital of Siam. It is between fifty and sixty leagues distant from Porselouk, and ten days journey from the kingdom of Laos. It is fortified in the best manner after the Siamese method; and might hold out a long siege against the Asiatics, though not able to defend itself half a day against the French. This is possibly the chief city of the country of Kapimper, mentioned by Pinto; who speaks of it as having no fewer than seventeen kings belonging to it. *Kampeng.*

At Lakonscvan, that is, *the Mountain of Heaven*, the Menâm receives another river from the north-east, as hath been observed before. This city stands about mid-way between the capital of Siam and Pitsanoulouk, corruptly called by the Portuguese Porselouk. a distance computed to be twenty-five days journey, for those who ascend the river in a boat; but it may be performed in twelve days with a great many rowers. These cities, like all the rest in the kingdom, consist only of a great number of cabbins, frequently fenced with an inclosure of wood, and sometimes with a brick or stone wall[o]. *Lakonsevan.*

Pitsanoulouk is situated on the lesser Menâm; this is the second city in the kingdom, and its name signifies *Pearl* or *Diamond enchased.* It is about one hundred leagues more to the north than Yuthia, in a more temperate climate, and fruitful soil. It was built by Chaw Meuang Hing, who reigned about two hundred and fifty years before Chaw Thong, founder of the capital, and *Pitsanoulouk.*

[l] Choisy, p. 5. ubi supra. [m] De Faria. Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 364. [n] Loubiere, p. 4. [o] Ibid. ubi supra.

gained many victories over the Laos. This city was formerly the usual residence of the kings of Siam, and one of their ancient palaces is still remaining. It is about one league in circuit; and the brick wall, which incloses it is one of the best in the kingdom. It is divided in two by the river.

Meuang Fang. Some days journey to the north of it, on the same river, and frontiers of the kingdom, stands Meuang Fang, which some interpret, *the city of Wood Fang*, called by the Portuguese Sapan: but because a tooth is kept there, pretended to be a relic of their lawgiver Sommona Kodom, some give it the name of Meuang Fan, that is, *the city of the Tooth.*

Between Meuang Fang and Pitsanoulouk, at the distance of about forty-five leagues, but more to the east, on a river which falls into the lesser Menâm, is Lokontay, or Lokontaya. It is the last city of the Siamese towards the kingdom of Laos, although no less than fifteen days journey distant; for the road lies through inaccessible forests and vast deserts, where scarce a hut is to be met with [o].

Korazema. On the borders of the same country, but many days journey more to the south, stand Korazema, which some call Karissima, a place of considerable note. Choisy names it Konrasema, and says it abounds with elephants, rhinoceroses, eagle-wood, and other valuable commodities.

Kambori. On the frontiers of Pegu, towards Martabân, is situated the city of Kambori, or Kamburi, which has the same produce with Porselouk, excepting sugar-canes and onions. Likewise in the lands wich lie between the rivers above the city of Lakon-sevan, and on the channels which pass from one river to the other, there are two considerable cities; one called Sokotay, almost in the same latitude with Pichit; the other Sanquelouk, lying more to the north. It must be remarked, that almost all the cities, towns, and other habitations, of the Siamese, are built on the banks of rivers, or the canals of communication; the country being so hot, that it is not habitable any where else [p].

Siam or Siyuthia. The capital of Siam, to which the Portuguese give the same name with the country, is, by the natives, called Siyo-thi-ya. Of this foreigners have made Judia, Juthia, and Odiaa. It is situated in an island, amidst several others, made by canals cut by the natives; which island is, at present, all inclosed within walls. It has almost the shape of a purse, the mouth of which is to the east, and the bot-

[o] Gervaise, p. 47. [p] Loubiere, p. 6. Choisy, p. 526.

tom

tom to the west. The river meets it at the north by several channels, which run into that which encircles it; and leaves it on the south, by dividing again into several streams. The king's palace stands to the north, on the canal which incloses the city: and, at the east end, there is a causey, by which alone, as by an isthmus, people may go in and out, without crossing the water.

large, but not populous.

Siyuthia is spacious, considering the compass of the walls, but scarce a sixth part is inhabited, and that to the south-east only; the rest lies desert, where nothing is to be seen excepting temples erected in several places. However, some amends is made by the suburbs, which are inhabited by strangers. The streets are large and strait; in some places planted with trees, and paved with bricks, laid edgewise. Most of them are watered with strait canals, which have caused this city to be compared to Venice; but they are covered with a great many ugly little bridges, made of hurdles, and some of brick. The houses are low, and built with wood; at least those belonging to the natives; who, for those reasons, are exposed to all the inconveniences of the excessive heats.

Its longitude and latitude.

The city was founded, according to the Siamese, in the 1894th year of their æra, which answers to that of Christ 1351. The latitude of it was found, by Thomas the Jesuit, to be fourteen degrees eighteen minutes; and the longitude ninety-eight degrees thirty minutes from the meridian of Paris, or one hundred and eighteen degrees thirty minutes from that of Ferro. This is an observation of great importance, as it serves to fix the situation of the whole Farther Peninsula of India; and is of use in settling that of the adjacent islands [d].

The king's palace.

The king of Siam's palace, called Prassat, as well in this city as those elsewhere, has three inclosures, so distant one from the other, that the spaces between look like vast courts. The innermost, called Vang, contains that monarch's apartments, with some court and some garden. The Siamese never enter or go out of the Vang without prostrating themselves; neither do they ever pass before the Prassat: and if the current happens to carry them athwart it, they are sure to be pelted with pease, which the king's servants shoot at them from trunks. The French ambassadors landed at the first entrance of the palace, and left their umbrellas there. The gates are always shut; and, behind each, stands a porter, who, if any body knocks,

[d] Loubiere, p. 7. Gervaise, p. 41.

informs the officer who commands in the firſt incloſure. For, without his permiſſion, no perſon either goes in or out; and he examines their breath, to ſee if they have drank arak; as much care being taken to keep out drunken people, as thoſe who bear arms.

Its ſeveral courts. Between the two firſt incloſures, and under a penthouſe, there is poſted a ſmall number of ſoldiers, but unarmed and ſtooping. Theſe, named kenhay, or painted-arms, are both the prince's executioners and his guards. They alſo row his balon, when he goes on the water. There may be about ſix hundred in the palace, but many more through the kingdom. In the firſt incloſure are the ſtables of the beſt elephants and horſes, to which the king gives names. In the Vang are ſome of thoſe ſingle halls, where the officers meet, either to diſcharge their functions, or to make their court to his majeſty; who ſhews himſelf from a window, belonging to a higher chamber than that of audience. At the two corners of the hall, on the ſame ſide, and of equal height with the window, which is nine feet above the floor, are two doors, and two pair of narrow ſtairs. For the furniture, there are only three umbrellas, one before the window, with nine rounds, and two with ſeven rounds, on both ſides of the window: the umbrella being, in this country, a mark of ſtate, as the canopy is in Europe. In this hall the officers receive their orders, by the intervention of forty pages, divided into four bands, conſiſting of eleven each: two bands proſtrate themſelves in the hall, at the king's right hand; the other two on his left [e].

Hall of audience.

The king's apartment. This palace, built of brick, is about a mile and half in circuit; divided by ſever alcourts: in the two firſt are lodged the officers of the king's houſhold; and in the others, there are ſtill to be ſeen ſome old apartments of the ancient kings, eſteemed ſacred, with rows of trees before them. There are likewiſe ſome old temples, which make a handſome figure. The king's apartment, which is in the innermoſt court, was but newly built, when the French ambaſſadors were at Siam: the gold, which glitters in a thouſand places, diſtinguiſhes it from the other buildings. Its figure is that of a croſs; in the middle whereof there riſes above the roof a pyramid of ſeveral ſtories, which is the mark of royal houſes. It is all covered with tin: nor can any thing be better executed than the carved work, with which it is adorned on every ſide. The apartment of the

[e] Loubiere, p. 96, & ſeqq.

princeſs,

princeſs, his daughter, who, after the death of her mother, was created a queen, was near the king's, and appeared very magnificent. Both looked into great gardens, well planted; having walks divided by little canals.

Without the palace, on the river to the left hand, are the great magazines, where the king's balons or pleaſure-boats are lodged, one hundred and fifty in number, all very magnificent. On the right lies a large park, where formerly the wild elephants were brought to be tamed; a diverſion which the royal family took much delight in [r]. *His pleaſure barges.*

Fourteen leagues from the capital, ſtands Louvo, commonly called Nokſhebourî, which is to Siyuthia what Verſailles is to Paris, or Hampton-Court to London. The ancient kings had here a pleaſure-houſe; but it had been abandoned above one hundred years, when the king, who reigned in 1687, ordered it to be rebuilt. This city ſtands in a plain, of the higher grounds, where the inundation never reaches; and may be about a mile and a half in length. Its figure is almoſt ſquare, and it is incloſed with a wall of earth, ſtrengthened with brick towers at certain diſtances. Its ſituation is ſo charming, and the air ſo good, that the king ſpends here the greater part of the year. The gardens and walks are extremely pleaſant. The palace lately built by the king on the bank of the river, is the greateſt ornament of Louvo; and, if it be not ſo magnificent as that in the capital, yet it makes a more gay appearance [s]. *City of Louvo.* *Charming ſituation.*

Five or ſix leagues eaſt-north-eaſt of Louvo, is Prabat, remarkable for a piece of ſuperſtition, from whence the place takes its name: for bat, in the Balli, (or Palli) language, ſignifies a *foot*, and *pra*, *any thing worthy of veneration and reſpect*. This relick is the print of a man's foot upon a rock, thirteen or fourteen inches deep, and five or ſix times longer than the natural ſize. The Siameſe not only adore it themſelves, but believe that the elephants, rhinoceroſes, and other wild beaſts, do likewiſe repair thither to worſhip it, when no perſon is preſent. The king goes once a year with great pomp, to pay his devoirs to this miraculous impreſſion, which is covered with a plate of gold, within a chapel erected for the purpoſe. The talapoy pretend it was made by Sommona Kodom, who, at the ſame time, had one foot here, while the other reſted on a mountain in Lanka, or Seylân, although the whole gulf of Bengâl lies between. They report alſo, that, by *Prabat.* *Place of Pilgrimage.*

[r] Gervaiſe, p. 43, & ſeqq. [s] Gervaiſe, ubi ſupr. p. 49. & ſeqq.

the

the preſſure of his foot, he made the mountain flat and level, which before roſe to a great height.

Fon, or Bankok.

About eighteen leagues to the ſouth of Siyuthia, and twelve from the ſea, ſtands the city of Fon, commonly called Bankok. From the territory of this city, as far as Talakoan, four leagues higher, the capital is ſupplied with a great quantity of fruits [h]. Bankok is certainly the moſt important place in the whole country; for there is no other on all the coaſt able to make any reſiſtance. It is not above a mile and a half long; but its breadth is far ſhort of that extent. It is incloſed with walls only on the eaſt and ſouth ſides, which are waſhed by the great river. At the point, where that river divides in two branches, it is only defended by a half-moon battery, mounted with twenty-five great pieces of braſs cannon. Oppoſite to it, on the other ſide of the Menâm, there is another little fort, which ſeems to be of no great defence, although mounted with more than thirty great guns. Theſe two forts are guarded by a hundred Meſtizo Portugueſe. The Chevalier de Chaumont, the French ambaſſador, left an engineer with the king to fortify Bankok [i]; but the fort which he raiſed on the eaſt ſide of the river was, in the ſucceeding troubles, demoliſhed [k].

Strength and ſituation.

Maritime Cities, and Tributary Countries.

Maritime cities.

BANKOK properly ought to be conſidered among the maritime cities or ports of Siam, which we come next to deſcribe. Theſe are ſituated in the peninſula of Malakka. Some on the eaſt ſide, in the gulf of Siam. The firſt conſiderable port is that of Ligor, or Lugor. This city was conquered by Râjah Api, called the black king of Siam, about the year 1603. It is an ancient city, but not very conſiderable. The Dutch have a factory here; its commodities conſiſt of kalin, or tin, rice, fruits, and, in ſome years, much pepper [l]. Ligor ſtands in about the eighth degree of latitude; and, about one degree lower, lies Sonkourat, Sangor or Singor, which is large and beautiful, but otherwiſe not very conſiderable. About the year 1673 this city rebelled againſt the king of Siam; who having reduced it by his forces, ordered it to be demoliſhed [m].

Ligor.

Singor.

Patâna.

Not far off is Patâna, or Patâni, a conſiderable city, for-

[h] Loubiere, p. 4, & ſeq. [i] Gervaſe, p. 57, & ſeqq. [k] Kæmpfer, p. 14, 42. [l] Floris ap. Nov. Collect Voy. p. 439. Gervaſe, p. 16, & 61. Choiſy, p. 524. [m] Gervaſe, p. 16, & 61, & ſeq.

merly

merly capital of a kingdom, governed by queens. But it was at length conquered by the black king, about the same time with Ligor. However, it still remains in possession of the king of Jahor, or Joar, who pays homage or tribute to the king of Siam.

The principal ports belonging to Siam, on the west side of the peninsula of Malakka, are Mergui and Jonsalam. The first has its name from a little island, which the Siamese call Migri, and Europeans Mergui. This is one of the best and most secure ports in all the Indies. It lies on the north-west point of the island, which is very populous; and in the mouth of an excellent river, called Tannassérim, from a city of that name, seated on its bank, about seventeen leagues from the sea. This river descends from the north; having passed through the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, enters Siam, and falls by three mouths into the bay of Bengâl. The port lies between the isle of Mergui, and another which is to the west of it, and is defended by a fort built by the king of Siam [p]. Formerly a good number of English free merchants were settled at Mergui, and drove a considerable trade; but the old East-India company, envying their happiness, ordered them to repair to Fort St. George; and, in 1687, sent captain Weldon, in the Curtany, to Mergui, to threaten the king of Siam with a war by sea, if he did not either deliver these merchants up, or force them out of his country. Weldon behaved very insolently to the governor; and having, without any just cause, killed some of the natives, they one night designed to be revenged on him; but the aggressor escaping on board, they vented their rage on all the English they could find: thus, through the villainy of one man, seventy-six were massacred. Before this incident, the English were in great esteem at the court of Siam: one Mr. White was made shâh bânder, or head of the customs, at Merji or Mergui, and Tannassérim; and captain Williams admiral of the king's navy. But, after this tragical scene, they all removed to other places, where the company had factories.

Mergui.

English destroyed.

Tanassérim, or Tenasséri, is a city of note; but not so considerable as it was formerly: the trade being, for the most part, removed to Mergui, about seven leagues distant; which often goes under its name, as the port of Siam for the inhabitants of the gulf of Bengâl. This city is famous for nipa, or niper wine; which is a spirituous

Tanassérim

[p] Floris Voy. ap. Nov. Collect. Trav. vol. i. p. 439. Hamilt. New Acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 157. Choisy, p. 524.

liquor

liquor distilled from cocoa-nut water, the best in the Indies [q]. It was taken from Siam in 1568, by the second Barma king of Pegu, under which it continued till about 1603, when it was recovered by the black king of Siam [r]. In 1614 it was besieged by the king of Ava: but he was frustrated in his design by the resistance of the Portuguese, who were in the place [s].

Andemân islands. Opposite to the coast of Tenasserim are the islands of Andemân, about eighty leagues distant, surrounded by dangerous banks and rocks. They are all inhabited by canibals, who are so void of fear, that they will swim off to a boat, if she approach near the shore: and attack her with their wooden swords, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, and the advantage of fire-arms. It is customary with them, in their praws, to make a yearly descent on the Nikubâr islands, and kill or take prisoners as many as they can overcome. The have no notion of a Deity, according to the report of one of them, who turned Mohammedan, and often went from Achîn to get quicksilver, with which those islands abound [t].

Jonsalam. The next place of any commerce on this coast is the island of Jonsalam, although there are several good harbours between it and Merji; but the coast is very thin of inhabitants, on account of freebooters, called Salleiters, who possess the neighbouring isles; from whence they make descents on shore, and carrying off the people, sell them at Achîn in Sumatra. The north end of Jonsalam lies within a mile of the continent, but the south end is above three leagues distant. Between the island and the main is a good harbour for shipping in the south-west monsoons, and on the west side of the isle is Puton bay, no less safe in the north-east winds.

Ports and trade. The island affords good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin; but few people dig it, for fear of the above mentioned outlaws; and the governors, who are commonly Chinese, so oppress the inhabitants, that riches would be but a plague to them. Yet the villages on the continent drive a small retail trade with vessels that come from the coast of Choromandel [u]. The port is very good, and a secure retreat for ships going to the Hither Peninsula, in the stormy months of July and August. Its only fault is want of depth for large vessels; but that defect is

[q] Linschot, p. 30. Cæs. Frederic. apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1712. [r] Floris, ubi sup. p. 439. [s] De Faria, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 197. [t] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 64, & seqq. [u] Hamilton, p. 67, & seq.

supplied

ſupplied by a ſafe road near it. In ſhort, Jonſalam is of great conſequence for the trade of Pegu, Bengâl, and other neighbouring parts [b]. Choiſy ſays it abounds with kalin, or tin, and ambergris [c].

Nikubâr iſlands.

The iſlands off this part of the coaſt are the Nikubârs, at the diſtance of about ninety leagues. The northermoſt cluſter is low, and called the Kar Nikubârs; which lying nearer the Andamâns are but thinly inhabited. The middle cluſter is fine champaign ground, and in general well inhabited. They are called the Somerera iſlands by the Portugueſe, from a hill on the ſouth end of the largeſt which reſembles the top of an umbrella, as that word ſignifies. This iſland ſeems to be well peopled, from the number of villages which appear at ſea; and the natives bring the product of their ſoil aboard of ſhips to exchange for tobacco, old hatchets, ſword-blades, and pieces of iron hoops, to make defenſive arms againſt the Andamâners. They ſpeak a little broken Portugueſe, and are exceeding courteous. The men's cloathing is about a foot and a half of cloth, ſix inches broad, tucked before and behind within a ſtring, which goes round their middle. Their hair is left on the upper part of the head, and below the crown, but cut ſo ſhort, that it hardly touches their ears. The women, on the contrary, have their heads cloſe ſhaved, and wear a kind of ſhort petticoat, reaching from the navel to the knee.

Tallang-jang.

About ſix leagues to the ſouthward of the ſaid Somerera iſland, lies Tallang-jang, an uninhabited iſle, where an Engliſh ſhip was loſt in 1708; but the men were ſaved, and relieved by the inhabitants of Ning and Gouri, two fine iſlands about four leagues to the weſt of Tallang-jang, and eight to the ſouthward of the great Somerera.

South cluſter.

The ſouthern cluſter of the Nikubârs is mountainous, and the inhabitants partake of their unpoliſhed nature; being more uncivil and moroſe than thoſe of the northern. As to the reſt, their iſlands produce hogs, fowl, fiſh, freſh, ſalted, and dried; excellent yams, potatoes, parrots and monkies [d].

Quedah kingdom.

The next place of note to Jonſalam, ſouthward, is Quedah, which is honoured with the title of a kingdom, although both ſmall and poor. The town, which bears the ſame name, ſtands on the banks of a little navigable river, deep but narrow, about fifty miles from the ſea.

[b] Gervaſe, p. 15. [c] Choiſy, p. 524. [d] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 68, & ſeqq.

There

There the king reſides, who diſplays no marks of grandeur but the moſt arbitrary deſpotiſm. The people are deceitful, covetous, and cruel; their religion is Mohammedan, mixed with Paganiſm. The produce of the country conſiſts of tin, pepper, elephants, and their teeth, canes and damar, a gum uſed in making pitch and tar for ſhipping. The king, who is proud and beggarly, never fails to viſit merchants at their coming to his port, and then muſt have a preſent; the ſtranger muſt make him another when he returns the viſit, or has any buſineſs with him. His majeſty, in requital, honours him with a ſeat near his ſacred perſon, and having chewed a little betel, ſends it freſh from his royal mouth, on a ſmall gold ſaucer, by the hands of a page, to the merchant, who muſt receive the morſel with all the ſigns of ſatisfaction, as well as humility, and chew it after him. This petty king was for many years tributary to Siam; but is at preſent independent [e].

Kingom of Johor.

The remaining part of the peninſula of Mâlakka properly belongs to the kingdom of Johor, or Joar, which begins at Perah, the next country to Quedah ſouthwards. It produces more tin than any other in the Indies: but the inhabitants are untractable, rebellious, treacherous, and bloody; ſo that no European nation can keep factories there with ſafety. Several other places along the Malaya coaſt produce tin, of which Salangor and Parſalor are the moſt celebrated yet but little frequented by Europeans, becauſe not much more to be truſted than Perah.

Malakka, its ancient ſtate, and ſituation.

Mâlakka is the next place found on this coaſt. Before the Portugueſe arrived in the Indies, it had been the reſidence of the kings of Johor; but thoſe new-comers being denied the liberty of trading in the country, reſolved to obtain it by force. Accordingly, in May, 1510, the famous viceroy Alphonſo de Albuquerque, ſet out from Kochîn with nineteen ſail of ſhips and fourteen hundred fighting men, eight hundred of them Portugueſe, and the reſt Malabârs. The city, at that time, ſtretched along the ſhore about three miles, in the ſame manner as Liſbon; and was divided by a river in two parts, which were joined by a bridge. The palace and moſque were of ſtone, the other buildings were of wood. It afforded a pleaſant proſpect to the ſea, and was well ſecured with fortifications. As it was the great mart of all thoſe parts, the viceroy found the port filled with ſhips [f]. The city

[e] Hamilton, p. 71, & ſeq. De Faria, vol. i. p. 175. 177.

was

was founded two hundred and thirty years before the Portugueſe arrived in the Indies, by Paramiſera, a Javan prince, who having murdered his nephews, and uſurped the throne, was expelled by the natives, and fled to Sinkapura; where, at that time, reigned Sangaſinga, ſon-in-law and vaſſal to the king of Siam. Sangaſinga gave a kind reception to the fugitive; who, in return, ſoon after murdered him, and by means of his Javans, and two thouſand Sellati, who live by fiſhing and robbing, ſeized the kingdom: but being driven out ſoon after by the king of Siam, he went and ſettled on a hill called Bitân, near the river Muar, and gave it the name of Malakka, which ſignifies a *baniſhed perſon*, in the Malayan language.

Taken by Albuquerque.

The adjacent country was ſubject to inundations, and full of thick woods, infeſted with tigers, and other dangerous animals. The men were courageous, the women wanton; but the trade of the Eaſt rendered the city rich and populous. The appearance of the Portugueſe fleet ſtruck the inhabitants with fear; and king Mahamet pretended much kindneſs, the better to ſurpriſe Albuquerque by treachery; but the viceroy demanded leave to build a fort, and to have the charge of his expedition defrayed, as that king's faithleſs dealings had brought him thither. On Mohamet's refuſal, the Portugueſe attacked Malakka by the bridge; and the ſecond day took the city, with vaſt ſlaughter of the enemy, though there were employed in the enterprize no more than eight hundred Portugueſe and two hundred Malabârs. All the Mohammedans being killed or driven out, it was repeopled by ſtrangers, the and ſome Malays. The king retired to iſland of Bintâm, leaving behind three thouſand pieces of cannon, out of eight thouſand, which he had to defend the place; but was ſoon obliged to quit that poſt. Albuquerque immediately built the fort at Malakka, which he called Famoſa [z]. The victors incloſed a little hill with a ſtone wall, about a mile round; and this they made their new city. The king was glad, however, to make peace with them, allowing them their fort, and all the ground about it within cannon ſhot.

Attacked by the Dutch.

Thus Malakka, by its advantageous ſituation, became famous all over the known world. But the inſolence of the Portugueſe increaſing with their power and riches, they became odious to their neighbours, whom they inſulted

[z] Nieuhoff, apud Church. Collect. Voy. vol. ii. p. 178, & ſeqq.

ſulted and oppreſſed [b]. Mean while the Dutch, having found their way into the Indies, began to diſturb them in their poſſeſſions. In 1605, Cornelius Matalief appeared with eleven ſhips and thirteen hundred ſoldiers before that city; where, having ſeized four ſhips in the road, he ſet fire to the ſuburbs, and battered the walls for two or three months. At length a conſiderable fleet arrived from Goa, conſiſting of ſixteen galliots, fourteen galleaſſes, and fourteen ſmaller veſſels, having three thouſand men on board, which Matalief defeated, and then departed. Next year the king of Johor brought an army againſt Malakka of ſixty thouſand ſoldiers, but with no better ſucceſs. The Dutch, however, in 1640, made themſelves maſters of it, after a ſiege of ſix months.

Fine harbour. The harbour of Malakka is one of the fineſt in the Indies, and ſhips may ſafely ride in at all ſeaſons, an advantage which ſcarce any other in thoſe parts enjoys. When the Portugueſe poſſeſſed it, it was the richeſt city in the Eaſt, next to Goa and Ormuz, being the key of the China and Japan, the Molukkos and Sunda trade. All ſhips paſſing from the north to the weſt, or from the weſt to the north, are under a neceſſity of ſailing through the ſtreights of Malakka and Sinkapura. Hence the Portugueſe exacted ten per cent. of all veſſels paſſing this way, which produced a vaſt revenue; but the Dutch have aboliſhed this cuſtom, as a very unreaſonable impoſition.

The Malayans. The natives of Malakka, and the adjacent country, called Malayans, are tawny complexioned, with long black hair, flat noſes, and great eyes, which are quite different from thoſe of the Javans, from whom they derive their origin. They go naked, all but a piece of cloth wrapped about their waiſt. They wear gold bracelets on their arms, and jewels in their ears. The women wear ſilks, embroidered with gold and precious ſtones. With ſuch jewels alſo they adorn their hair, which is long and twiſted. They are extremely proud, and expect more ceremony than any other females of the Indies. There is another peculiar ſpecies of men in Malakka, who can ſee only in the night, and therefore ſleep all day till ſun-ſet, when they get up to work. They, in ſhape as well as complexion, reſemble the Europeans, having grey eyes and yellowiſh hair, which reaches to the hips, only their feet turn inwards.

[b] De Faria, ubi ſupra.

People

People of the same kind are found in some other places of the Indies, and also in Africa [i].

The fort of Malakka is both large and strong, defended on one side by the sea, and on the other by a deep river. The governor's house is both beautiful and convenient. There are several other good buildings, as well in the fort as in the town; but as the shallowness of the sea obliges vessels to lie above a league off, the castle is at too great a distance from the road to protect the shipping. The country produces nothing for a foreign market but a little tin and elephants teeth; yet strangers meet with a variety of refreshments, such as pork, poultry, roots, and excellent fruits; namely, lemons, oranges, mangos, pine-apples, mangustans, rombostans, durions, and cocoa-nuts. *The fort.*

At Malakka the streights are not above four leagues in breadth. From a very high mountain, north-eastwards of the city, descend several rivers, and, among the rest, that of Malakka, which afford small quantities of gold-dust, found in their channels. The inland people, called Monakabos, are of a savage kind, and delight so much in mischief, that if the Malayan peasants sow grain in any ground but what is well fenced, they come and burn it. They are whiter than those who dwell in the lowlands, but so untractable, that the king of Johor, whose subjects they are, could never civilize them [k]. *Monakabos people.*

The Malayan tongue is formed out of the languages of the different nations which resort thither, by selecting the choicest words in each. Hence it is reckoned the most agreeable and elegant in all the Indies; which quality, joined to its use in trade, causes it to be learned by the remotest eastern people. *Malay language.*

In the streights of Malakka stands the city of Jor, Joar, or Johor, giving name to the kingdom, which formerly included that of Malakka, but at present lies to the south of it, and of Pahân, or Pân. The ancient city was very large, and magnificently built, but having been destroyed by the Portuguese in 1603, the king, in 1609, caused another to be built somewhat higher up the river, which he called Batusabar, whither most of the chief inhabitants of Johor retired. The country is very fertile, abounding in fruits, pepper, cinnamon, and game. The inhabitants are naturally brave, but very lascivious, liars, great dissemblers, and proud beyond measure. Their com- *Jor, or Johor kingdom.*

[i] Nieuhoff, ubi supra, p. 178, & seqq.

[k] Hamilt. New Account of the E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 79, & seqq.

plexion is inclinable to a light blue, with broad faces, hooked noſes, and very black teeth, an ornament acquired by chewing betel. The common people have only a cloth to cover their nakedneſs. The better ſort wear callico frocks of any colour, ſhaped like our ſhirts, with wide ſleeves, and open before, reaching only to their knees. To complete their dreſs, they have two ſilken ſtrings, of the ſame colour with their frock, one for a girdle, the other for a head-band. They paint their nails yellow, and, by the length of them, diſtinguiſh their quality.

The king of Johor has many petty kings under his juriſdiction.

The capital city. Johor Lami, before mentioned, which is ſometimes the reſidence of the king, has the benefit of a fine deep river, with two entrances. The ſmaller, which is from the weſtward, is called by Europeans the ſtreights of Sinkapura, but by the natives Salletadebrew. It runs along the north ſide of the iſland of Sinkapura, between it and the main, for five or ſix leagues together, and ends at the great river of Johor.

The territories of Johor reach from Perâh to point Romar or Romano, which is the moſt ſouthern promontory of all Aſia, lying but one degree to the north of the equator, about three leagues from Johor river. This country is in length about one hundred leagues, and in breadth eighty.

The inhabitants. The inhabitants are lazy, perfidious, and cruel. The land is very woody, and daily refreſhed with ſhowers and breezes. It abounds in tin, gold, elephants teeth, pepper, agala wood, and canes; but very little rice or other grain is ſown by the natives. The inland people ſubſiſt moſtly on ſagow, the pith of a ſmall twig, ſplit and dried in the ſun: they alſo rear poultry; and feed on their roots and fruits, which grow all ſeaſons of the year. On the ſea coaſt their food is chiefly fiſh and rice, brought from abroad. The only people of induſtry are the Chineſe, of whom about one thouſand families are ſettled amongſt them, beſides thoſe who carry on a foreign trade. Their religion is a corrupt Mohammediſm; and they have their prieſts from Surât.

The king tyrannical. The king of Johor, who reigned in 1695, was about twenty years of age, and very viciouſly inclined. Captain Hamilton, having preſented him with a pair of piſtols and a little powder, he tried on a poor fellow in the ſtreet, how far they would carry a ball into his fleſh, and ſhot him through the ſhoulder. He was a great ſodomite, and had

had taken many sons of his orankayas, or nobles, into his palace, for that execrable purpose. One day a Moorish merchant fled on board captain Hamilton's ship, to secure his son from that disgrace. Presently a guard came in a boat to demand him: but using threatning language, the captain obliged him to leap into the river; and bad the interpreter tell the king, that if he offered the least violence to any who belonged to him, he would fire his palace about his ears. His Johor majesty, unused to meet with returns of this kind, sent for his orankayas, to know if the captain was a king or not; and, by their persuasion, removed to a village twenty miles distant, till the ship's departure. A year or two after this transaction, his mother, to break him of that unnatural vice, sent a beautiful young woman to visit him, when a-bed; but he was so far from being pleased with her conversation, that he ordered his black guard to break both her arms, for offering to embrace his royal person: and next morning sent for her father's head. Not finding so much submission as he expected, he went himself in a great rage to demand it: but, as he was entering the door, the orankaya thrust a lance through the heart of this unnatural monster[d]. *He is slain.*

His successor's indolence.

The kingdom remained in confusion without a king for three years: but in 1700, they chose another, named Soltân Abd'ollah Jalib, cousin-german of the former, a prince of great moderation and justice; so that he was beloved by his people, and trade flourished for nine years; till, leaving the government to Râjah Moudah, a younger brother, of a covetous tyrannical disposition, every thing fell into disorder. In 1703, captain Hamilton calling at Johor, the king made him an offer of the island of Sinkapura, which he refused, as of no use to a private person; though every way fit for a company to settle on, as lying in the center of trade. In 1708, Râjah Moudah persuaded him to leave Johor, and reside at Rhio, in the island of Bintang, about three leagues off Johor river, where he engrossed the trade with more security into his own hands, buying and selling at his own prices, and punishing those who opposed his measures.

The people rebel.

At length, in 1712, the people, no longer able to endure his oppression, broke into rebellion; on which the prince, without taking leave of the king his brother, fled in a galley, with his wives and children, to Johor Lami: but finding a small army of Monakabos, called in by the

[d] Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 92, & seqq.

people, were encamped there, he fled with his family to the woods; leaving his galley, and in it a ton weight of gold. As he knew there could be no ſafety in the foreſts, and deſpairing of mercy from the injured people, he reſolved to put an end to all their miſeries at once: but when he had killed his wives and children, he began to heſitate about killing himſelf. A page, who was but twelve years old, ſurpriſed at his cowardice, aſked him, if he choſe rather to be butchered by a ſlave, than die like a prince; adding, that he who was innocent, and might expect mercy, would yet ſhew him the way to die. At the ſame time laying hold of a krîs, or poniard, he ran himſelf through the body. The tyrant, ſhamed into courage, by the bravery of a boy, followed his example, and immediately expired: but the Monakabos, who came up ſoon after, found the boy alive, and carried him to Johor, where he recovered of his wound.

Kingdom of Pahan. The city of Pahân, Pahâng, or Pân, by the Portugueſe called Paon, and by others, after the Arabs, Fân, is ſituated about a league from the ſea, and inhabited only by the nobility, the people dwelling in the ſuburbs. This place, which is not very large, is incloſed with a wall made of the trunks of trees, joined cloſe together, and about twenty-four feet in height, ſtrengthened at each angle with a baſtion, but not filled with earth. The ſtreets are fenced on both ſides with hedges of reeds, and planted with cocoa and other trees; ſo that Pahân looks more like an aſſemblage of gardens, belonging to a ſuburb, than a regular city. The houſes likewiſe are generally built with reeds and ſtraw, only the king's palace is of wood; for Pahân was formerly the capital of a kingdom, which lay between Johor and Patâney; but, at preſent, it makes a part of Johor. The river is broad, but not navigable for gallies, except at high-water. The adjacent country is very low, but fruitful enough; producing pepper, eagle and kalambak woods, coarſe gold, nutmegs, mace, ſapan wood, diamonds, and hog ſtones, reckoned more efficacious than the bezoar ſtones. Deeper in the country elephants are very numerous [f].

Thus we have given our reader an account, not only of the dominions actually ſubject and tributary to the king of Sîam, but alſo of thoſe which were formerly ſubject or tributary to him, in the peninſula of Malakka. We ſhall only add farther, with regard to the numerous iſlands which lie

[f] Nieuhoff, ubi ſupra, vol. ii, p. 181, & ſeqq.

upon

upon the coasts, and have excellent ports, fresh water, and woods, fit for colonies to settle; that the king affects to be styled lord of them; although never inhabited by his subjects on the continent, who are far from being numerous; and he has not strength enough at sea, to hinder strangers from taking possession [g].

Inhabitants of Siâm, their Manners and Customs.

Inhabitants not numerous.

SIAM, considering its extent, is but indifferently peopled; it is at present inhabited chiefly along the rivers; the country being, almost entirely overgrown with woods; which, in all likelihood, would not be the case, were the inhabitants as numerous as they are in some of the neighbouring countries. Notwithstanding this scarcity of people, the Siamites hardly make one third part of the whole; for, of the three sorts of people by whom the country is occupied, Siamese, Lahos, and Peguers, the latter are almost equal to the other two. These Peguers are the descendants of such as, in the distractions which for a long time formerly afflicted their country, fled hither for refuge; or who had been taken prisoners in the frequent wars which subsisted between the two nations. Besides, the king gives great encouragement to the Peguers to settle in Siâm, because they are more active, and better soldiers, than his natural subjects [h].

Half of them Peguers.

Siamese's their origin.

As to the origin of the Saimese, they say their laws and kings at least came from the Lahos, who, on the other hand, will have it that their laws are derived from Siâm. Choisy observes, that the Laos are half Chinese; and Method declares, that all the inhabitants of Pegu and Arrakan, as well as Siâm, seem to be descended from the same people, their features and customs being so nearly alike [i].

Several conditions.

At Siâm all persons are freemen, or slaves; and may either be born or become such. One may become a slave either for debt, by being taken in war, or by way of punishment. They sometimes sell themselves and children for victuals, and even for the sake of eating a delicious fruit called durion. Their slavery is very gentle; for they are employed in cultivating lands, tending gardens, or some other domestic services; or rather they are permitted to work for themselves, paying a tribute to their masters, from about three shillings and six pence, to seven shillings a year. A slave for debt has his liberty again, on making

[g] Loubiere Relat. of Siam, p. 7. [h] Choisy Journ. p. 536.
[i] Method apud Purch. Pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005.

ſatisfaction; but the children born during this ſlavery continue ſlaves. A perſon is born a ſlave, when the mother is a ſlave. If ſhe converſes with the father, without her maſter's conſent, all the children are his; if with his conſent, they are divided, as in caſe of divorce. The firſt, and every odd number, belong to the mother's maſter; the reſt, or even numbers, to the father, if he be free, or to his maſter, if he is a ſlave. The difference between the king of Siam's ſlaves and his ſubjects, is, that he maintains his ſlaves, who are continually employed; whereas his free ſubjects owe him only ſix months ſervice in the year, but at their own expence; nor is there any ſervice due to him from the ſlaves of theſe latter.

Freemen their privileges.

Among the freemen there are not properly two ranks or conditions of people; ſince nobility is nothing but the actual poſſeſſion of places. The grandſon of a great lord, and ſometimes his ſon, is often ſeen rowing a boat. As the freemen are all ſoldiers, they are carefully regiſtered, that none may avoid doing his duty. This militia is divided into men on the right-hand, and men on the left; each of which great diviſions is ſubdivided into bands, with every one its nay, or chief; who does not always lead his band to the war, no more than to the ſix months ſervice; he is obliged only to furniſh out of his band ſo many men as may be required for thoſe particular occaſions. There are ſeven degrees of theſe nay, one ſuperior to the other, according to the number of people contained in the reſpective bands; as pa-ya, ok-pa, ok-pra, ok-lou-ang, ok-kown, ok-meuing, and ok-pan. Theſe are ſo many dignities or titles by which all officers or placemen are diſtinguiſhed. Ok-pan, which is now diſuſed, ſignifies *the head of a thouſand men*, and ok-meuing, *the head of ten thouſand men*; therefore it is reaſonable to conclude that every other title denotes the number of men contained in the band ſubordinate to its chief. There is another title without function, viz. ok-meu-ang, which ſignifies *chief of a city*; and with which a perſon muſt be qualified before he can be made a governor, whom they call chawmeuang, that is, *lord of a city* [c].

Titles of honour.

Siameſe, their character.

The Siameſe may be pronounced good men: vices are deteſtable with them. They are ſo far from getting drunk, that every man, who is above the dregs of the people, accounts it a ſhame to drink arak. They pay great reſpect to age; the younger, though higher in of-

[c] Loubiere, p. 77, & ſeqq.

fice,

fice, yielding precedency to his elder. Children are exceedingly dutiful to their parents. Begging is reckoned very ſhameful, and therefore the poor are maintained by their relations: but robbing is held much more ignominious than begging; and therefore they take little care to ſecure their doors, either in the day or night. However, it muſt not be ſuppoſed that the Siameſe never ſteal: the outlaws, who withdraw into the woods for ſhelter, frequently rob paſſengers; but then they never murder them. On the other hand, their fidelity is inviolable in all ſorts of traffick; but uſury, not being reſtrained by laws, is practiſed without bounds; for avarice is their predominant vice. Yet, what is ſtrange, they gather riches not to uſe, but bury them. They have very few civil ſuits; but many criminal cauſes, which ariſe from hatred or revenge. The Siamites have naturally an averſion to blood, ſo very rarely commit murder; but generally their quarrels end in abuſive language, or a few blows at moſt. They are courteous, polite, timorous, and careleſs. They have no curioſity, and never admire any thing. Inſolent to the humble, and humble to the inſolent. They have more moderation than Europeans; but are greatly given to diſſimulation.

The women virtuous.

Adultery is very rare in Siam: a circumſtance owing, not to their huſband's power over his wife, whom he may ſell or kill for ſuch an offence; but becauſe the women are not corrupted, either by idleneſs, for they maintain the men by their labour, or luxury. They neither game, nor receive viſits from men. Cuſtom has made reſtraint very eaſy to them. They look upon a greater liberty as ſcandalous; and would think themſelves deſpiſed by the huſbands who ſhould allow it them. The women of Aſia have generally a high ſenſe of modeſty; and, in time of war, would rather their huſbands ſhould kill them, than let them fall into the hands of the enemy. Not but there are women here who give a looſe to their paſſions, as well as in other places; though not ſo many. The Siameſe lords are no leſs watchful over their daughters than their wives; and if any of them commits a fault, they ſell her to a particular man, who has a privilege to proſtitute her for money, in conſideration of a duty which he pays the king. It is ſaid, when Loubiere was in Siam, that he had in cuſtody ſix hundred young creatures, all daughters of conſiderable officers. He like-

wife purchaſes wives, when convicted of being unfaithful to their huſbands [g].

Their perſons. The Siameſe are rather ſmall than large, but ſtrait, and well proportioned. Their faces are rather of a lozenge ſhape than oval. The cheek-bones are broad; from whence the forehead ſuddenly contracts, and terminates in a point, as much as their chin. Their eyes are ſlit a little upwards, and ſmall; not very briſk, and the white inclining to yellow. Their jaws are hollow, as their cheek-bones are too high. Their mouths large; lips thick and pale; teeth black, and complexion brown. The noſes of the Siameſe are ſhort, and round at the end: their ears naturally larger than our's. Their hair black, thick, and lank. Both ſexes wear it cut ſhort, even with the top of their ears; under which part, they are cloſe ſhaven. The women generally raiſe it on their forehead; and ſome let it grow behind, in order to braid it. The young unmarried clip their hair very cloſe to the crown of the head, where keeping it up in a ſmall circle, about a quarter of an inch broad, let the reſt grow down almoſt to their ſhoulders. There is only one defect in the women, that they have hanging breaſts, which often reach to the navel [h].

Dreſs of the men. The Siameſe go all naked, from head to foot, only girding their reins and thighs, down to their knees, with a piece of callico or ſilk, about two ells and a half long, which the Portugueſe call pagne, from *pannus*, cloth. The officers or placemen wear, beſides, a muſlin ſhirt, as a kind of veſt: it has no neck-band, and is open before; the ſleeves are two feet wide, without plaits, and reach almoſt to their wriſts; but the body is ſo tight, that, not being wide enough to ſlip down over the pagne, it fits in wrinkles. In winter, ſome put over their ſhoulders a breadth of ſtuff, or painted linen, like a mantle or ſcarf, the ends of which are neatly wound about the arms. The king, in this ſeaſon, under his ſhirt wears a brocaded ſattin waiſtcoat, adorned with lace, whoſe ſleeves are very tight. None muſt wear ſuch a veſt, excepting thoſe conſiderable officers to whom he gives it as a preſent. He ſometimes alſo beſtows a ſcarlet veſt, to be worn only in war or hunting, which reaches to the knees, and buttons before, with wide ſleeves, but ſo ſhort, that they do not touch the elbows. On thoſe two occaſions, the king and his retinue appear in red; the

[g] Lonbiere, p. 73—76.

[h] Loubiere, p. 27, & ſeqq.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers having muſlin ſhirts, dyed of that colour. They likewiſe wear a cap of ceremony, which is white, and high, pointed like a ſugar-loaf. The king's is adorned with a circle, or crown, of precious ſtones; and thoſe of his officers have ſeveral circles of gold or ſilver, to diſtinguiſh their dignities. They wear them only before the king, in their tribunals, or on ſome ſolemn occaſion. They faſten them with a ſtay under the chin; and never pull them off to ſalute any perſon.

The Mohammedans have introduced the uſe of papuſhes, or ſlippers, a kind of pointed ſhoes, without either quarter or heel; which they leave at the doors of the houſes they enter, to avoid dirtying the rooms. They approve of hats for travelling; but very few of the people cover their heads from the ſun, excepting on the river, where the reflexion is moſt intolerable, and then they do it only with a piece of linen.

Women's dreſs.

The men, after wrapping the pagne about their waiſt, put one end back between their thighs, and tuck it in behind, ſo that it reſembles breeches. The other end hangs before, and as they have no pockets, ſerves to tie up their purſe for betel. The women wrap their pagne about their middle, and let it fall down half-way the leg, like a kind of cloſe coat. All the reſt of their body is naked, only the rich wear a ſcarf, putting the middle part ſingle over the boſom, and letting the two ends hang down behind over the ſhoulders, though ſometimes they wrap them about their arms.

Their modeſty.

Though the Siameſe go almoſt naked, yet no people in the world are ſo ſcrupulous of ſhewing the parts of the body which are covered. They have affixed infamy to nakedneſs; and hence modeſty renders the cuſtom of bathing in rivers almoſt inſupportable among the women, and but few among them can reſolve to practiſe it. They never pull off the pagne to lie down, yet children go without it till they are four or five years of age. Their ears are no leſs ſecured againſt immodeſty than their eyes; for, by the laws of Siam, obſcene China figures and paintings are equally prohibited with lewd ſongs: for ornaments, the people of Siam croud the three laſt fingers of each hand with rings, and wear pendants of gold, ſilver, or gilded metal. The boys and girls of condition wear bracelets on their arms and legs till ſix or ſeven years of age, but no longer.

Ornaments.

Cleanly and neat.

The Siameſe are very clean and neat; they bathe three or four times a day, or oftener, either by going into the water,

water, or having it poured over their bodies with ladles, an operation which they ſometimes continue for an hour together. They afterwards perfume themſelves, and put pomatum on their lips. They waſh their hair with water and ſweet oils, comb themſelves, and keep their black teeth clean. They pluck their beards, but let their nails grow without cutting, and the dancers ſometimes put on very long copper nails, for what makes them look like harpies they eſteem a beauty [k].

Their Houſes, Diet, Diſeaſes, Diverſions, Carriages.

Their houſes and furniture.

THESE people are no leſs plain in their houſes, their furniture, and diet, than in their dreſs. Their houſes are raiſed on four or ſix bambû poſts, thirteen feet high, and as thick as a man's leg, to avoid the inundation; acroſs theſe they lay other bambû poſts for a foundation; hurdles of ſplit bambû, often not cloſely compacted, make the floors, walls, and roofs; the ſtairs are likewiſe compoſed of a bambû ladder, which hangs without, like that of a windmill. And as their ſtables are built in the air, as well as their houſes, they have aſcents made of hurdles for the cattle to climb. The houſes, which are ſmall, and only of one ſtory, for more privacy, ſtand ſingle, ſurrounded with pretty large grounds, which ſerve for courts and gardens, incloſed with a bambû wall. The palaces of Siy t'hia and Louvo, as well as ſeveral temples, are alſo of brick; which way of building ſeems to have been taken from the Europeans, Chineſe, or Moors.

The furniture of the Siameſe houſes is very plain, and conſiſts in but a few moveables [l]. Their bedſtead is a wooden frame, matted, but without either head or poſts; but the generality have no other bed but a mat of bulruſhes laid on the floor. The better ſort uſe a matraſs, but no upper ſheet; the coverlid, which is a ſingle cotton cloth, ſerving for it. A long pillow ſerves for bolſter, and a curtain before the bed completes the ſleeping-place. Thoſe who can afford it have cabinets with drawers, both for uſe and ornament. Their table is like a drum-head, with the edges raiſed, like tea-boards, but no feet. They have no chairs or ſeats, but bulruſh mats; no carpets, but what the king beſtows on them; but the rich have cuſhions.

Their veſſels are either of china or earthen ware, with ſome few of copper; wood, plain or varniſhed, cocoa,

[k] Loubiere, p. 25, & ſeqq. [l] Ibid. p. 29.

and

and bambû, afford them all the reſt. The king's furniture is more rich and ſumptuous. In all the entertainments at the palace, the ambaſſadors ſaw great plenty of ſilver plate, eſpecially huge baſons, round and deep, in which were large round boxes, about eighteen inches diameter, containing the rice which was ſerved at table. The fruit was preſented in gold plates, but china is more common at his table as well as in all the courts of Aſia [b].

Their hearth or chimney is nothing but a baſket full of earth, ſupported with three ſticks for feet, and they make their fires, not in the houſes, but the courts. *Fires and chimneys.*

It is not in the ornaments of architecture, which the Siameſe know nothing of, that the real dignity of their buildings conſiſts, but in the heighth of the edifices. Thus in the palace, the king's apartment is more elevated than the reſt, which are gradually lower, in proportion as they are farther from it, ſo that there are always a few ſteps to aſcend from one to another, for they all join, and ſtand in a row. It is this which cauſes the inequality of the roofs, which are all high ridged, and ſeem to bear one on another. But the principal ornament of temples conſiſts in ſeveral pyramids of brick; the talleſt are as high as our ſteeples, and the loweſt not exceeding two fathom: they are all round, and gradually diminiſh as they riſe; ſo that each terminates like a dome. When the pyramids happen to be very low, the top is covered with a tin ſpire, very ſmall, and ſharp-pointed [c].

The uſual diet of the Siameſe is rice and fiſh, in which they are more abſtemious than Europeans. The ſea affords admirable fiſh, of ſorts unknown to us; lobſters of all ſizes, excellent little turtles, and delicate ſmall oyſters. Their rivers alſo yield plenty of good fiſh, eſpecially eels; but they are not fond of freſh fiſh, rather chooſing that which is ill-ſeaſoned and dry, nor are they diſpleaſed with ſtinking fiſh, any more than rotten eggs. They eat even lizards, locuſts, rats, and other inſects. A pound of rice, which coſts but one farthing, and a little ſalt-fiſh of no greater value, ſerves a Siameſe for one day's food. There ſauce is only a little water, reliſhed with ſome ſpices, garlick, or other herb: but that which they eſteem moſt, is called kapi; it is liquid, like muſtard, and made of craw-fiſh corrupted, becauſe ill ſalted; for *Their diet.*

[b] Loubiere, p. 34, & 165. [c] Idem, p. 30, & ſeqq.

meats

meats take ſalt with difficulty in very hot countries, yet the pots of it which they gave to a French officer had no bad ſmell. Inſtead of ſaffron they uſe crocus Indicus; but as they have neither nuts nor olives, they have no oil but what comes from the cocoa, which, though a little bitter, is very good when freſh, but it preſently grows rancid. They uſe buffalo's milk, which yields more cream than that of our cows, but make no cheeſe, nor ſcarce any butter.

Proviſions plenty. They diſguiſe dried fiſh many ways, without varying the preparation; but of more than thirty diſhes, wherewith the ambaſſadors were ſerved, our author, though far from being ſqueamiſh, could not eat of one. The Siameſe rarely eat fleſh; and, when they do, they chooſe the guts and inteſtines. Indeed all animal food in this country is tough and dry. Nor do they take care of their poultry. As for wild fowl, they never eat or kill them; and are ſo far from deſtroying crows and vultures, that they feed them, even with the fleſh of children who die before they are three or four years old. Pigs fleſh is the beſt of all in Siam, but ſo fat, that it is diſtaſteful. A ſheep is worth four crowns in the metropolis, a goat will fetch two or three, and a cow not above one; but in the country it will ſell for ten pence. A pig, in the capital, may be had for ſeven pence, becauſe the Mohammedans do not eat any; hens ſell for twenty pence a dozen, and as many ducks for a crown.

Their diſeaſes. Notwithſtanding all this temperance, the Siameſe do not live longer than Europeans, nor are freer from diſeaſes. The moſt dangerous and common among them are fluxes and dyſenteries, which yet Europeans are more ſubject to on their arrival, becauſe they cannot live ſober enough: they are ſometimes attacked with calentures; but other fevers and inflammations are rare. Coughs, quinſies, defluxions, and rheumatiſms are as frequent at Siam as elſewhere; but the gout, falling-ſickneſs, apoplexy, phthyſic, and all ſorts of colic, eſpecially the ſtone, are very rare. On the other hand, cancers, abſceſſes, and fiſtulas are very common: here is no ſcurvy nor dropſy; but people are ſubject to ſome contagious diſeaſes, and among the reſt the venereal: but the real plague of this country is the ſmall-pox, which often makes dreadful ravages [a].

Lazy life. While the men are employed for ſix months by the king in all kinds of work, the wives maintain the family

[a] Loubiere, p. 35, & ſeq.

at

at home. They plough the land; they ſell and buy in the city; ſo that when the huſband returns he has nothing to do: he neither works, walks abroad, nor hunts; he does ſcarce any thing but continue ſitting or lolling, eating, playing, ſmoking, and ſleeping. His wife wakes him at ſeven, and ſerves him with rice and fiſh; after this repaſt he falls aſleep again; at noon he eats another meal, and ſups towards night. What buſineſs he has to do, he tranſacts between the two laſt meals, and ſpends the remainder in converſation or play.

Diverſions.

The Siameſe ſpend much of their time in diverſions, of which they have many which are common in Europe, as puppet-ſhews, tumbling, rope and ladder-dancing, in which they far excel our artiſts; they have wreſtling and boxing; races of oxen inſtead of horſes, and rowing of boats, at which wagers are laid. Cock-fighting and kite-flying are in great eſteem, and deemed amuſements for the monarchs of Aſia. They are very fond of plays and fire-works, which are well performed by them; and which, with their annual feaſt of lanthorns, as well as other cuſtoms, ſeem to have come to them from the Chineſe. Like theſe alſo they are exceſſively given to gaming, ſo as often to make themſelves and children ſlaves. Their uſual games are cheſs and tick-tack, which laſt they call faka. Smoking tobacco is one of their greateſt pleaſures, to which the women are chiefly addicted.

Elephant hunting and fighting.

The paſtime in which the king takes the greateſt delight is the catching and fighting of elephants. The taking of theſe animals is much after the ſame manner as in other countries: they decoy them by means of the tame females, into a narrow paſſage, between two high banks of earth, lined on each ſide with trunks of trees, ſo large and cloſe ſet, that the elephant can neither pull them up, or get between them; ſo that men placed between the banks and the trees, may with ſafety lay ropes to catch their hind legs in running knots; and then entering into the narrow paſſage provoke them forwards to a little incloſure, alſo of trees, to which they tie them. When they ſet elephants to fight, they do not give them liberty to cloſe, as in the Great Mogol's court, but keep them at a diſtance, with ropes tied to their hinder feet, and faſtened to great poſts; ſo that they can hardly croſs each other's trunk in the combat, much leſs reach the men who are mounted on their backs to animate them: neither do they let them fight long, for after five or ſix attacks, the females are brought in to part them. At

Siam

Siam they neither expoſe the life of men nor beaſts by way of ſport [g].

Their carriages. Beſides the ox and buffalo, on which the Siameſe commonly ride, the elephant is their ſole domeſtic animal, and their hunting to catch them is free for every body: for ordinary ſervices they uſe only the females, reſerving the males for war. The king has a white elephant, but never mounts him, becauſe they ſay the white elephant is as great a lord as himſelf, as having a king's ſoul. Horſes are ſcarce, and good for little here, the country not being proper for breeding them. The king keeps about two thouſand, which he has moſtly from abroad, but ſeldom rides them, as the elephant looks more grand, and is better for defence. They have neither aſſes nor mules in Siam, but there are ſome camels imported by the Mohammedans.

Chairs. Their chairs or ſedans are ſquare flat ſeats, more or leſs high, placed on biers, carried on the ſhoulders of four or eight men, according to the quality of the perſon. Sometimes theſe ſeats have backs and arms, ſometimes only they are encompaſſed on three ſides with a ſmall balliſter about ſix inches high: ſome are open at top, others covered with an imperial, or canopy; but at preſent only two or three lords have permiſſion to uſe thoſe chairs; and the palankin is allowed to ſick perſons, or diſeaſed old men: neither are any ſuffered to uſe umbrellas, but thoſe whom the king delights to honour; and yet all theſe prohibited things are allowed to Europeans. The umbrella granted to officers is ſingle, or has but one round upon a ſtaff or handle; the king's only has more rounds, one above another. The ſarkrats, or ſuperiors of the talapoy, are indulged with an umbrella of one round, with two or three painted cloths hanging down from it; and the talapoy themſelves have umbrellas in form of ſkreens, which they carry in their hand, made of palmito leaves, cut round and folded. Theſe they call talapat, from whence, it is likely, comes the name talapoy.

Balons, or boats. The annual inundation of the river renders the boat or balon the moſt univerſal carriage. It is made out of a ſingle tree, and very narrow, though from ſixteen to twenty feet in length; ſome of the king's balons, and thoſe of conſiderable officers, have a hundred, or a hundred and twenty rowers each, who ſit croſs-legged, ranged two and two on benches; thoſe of inferior officers have

[g] Louibere, p. 44.

only

only ſixteen or twenty pagayes, or oars, according to their different ſizes. This pagayer is a ſhort oar, which the pagayer, or rower, holds with both hands, one in the middle, the other at the upper end. This he plunges directly downwards, with a motion of the arms and ſhoulders, which is vigorous, but eaſy and graceful; and although the oars can only ſweep the water, yet as it is done with force, and by ſo many hands, the balon flies with exceeding ſwiftneſs: they ſtrike all at once, drawing the oar towards them, ſo that they look towards the place they are going to. A very long pagaye ſerves for a rudder, which is not fixed to the balon, but held perpendicularly by the ſteerſman, who only moves it ſometimes to one ſide of the veſſel, ſometimes to the other, according as he would direct its courſe. The balons of the ladies are rowed by women ſlaves. The ordinary balons have each a cabin in the middle, made of bambû; but in the balons of ceremony or ſtate there is only a ſingle ſeat, which is higher or lower, covered with an umbrella or canopy, according to the degree of the officer to whom it belongs. Theſe canopies are all over gilded, as well as the pagayes; they are ſupported by pillars, and adorned with carved works in pyramids[h].

Their Marriages, Education, Learning, Arts, Trade.

THE Siameſe women have children at twelve, and ſometimes ſooner, but ſeldom after forty; they therefore marry young. If the parents of the maid like the match, which is commonly propoſed by women in years, they conſult the fortune-teller, to know if the party be rich, and the marriage will prove happy. If the anſwer turns out to their liking, the young man makes three viſits; and at the third the relations on both ſides meet, when the portion of each party is delivered to the bridegroom; who, without any more ceremony, goes to bed to his wife. The talapoy have no hand in the matter; only, a few days after, they go to the houſe of the new married couple to ſprinkle holy water, and repeat ſome prayers. The wedding, as in all other countries of the Eaſt, is accompanied with feaſting and ſhews, where hired dancers divert the gueſts. The greateſt portion at Siam is a hundred kati, which make fifteen thouſand livres. A man may have ſeveral wives; but the rich only have *Their marriages.*

[h] Loubiere, p. 39, & ſeqq.

more

more than one, and that more out of grandeur than debauchery. There is always one of them who is the chief, and called the great wife, the reſt are termed the leſſer wives: and, though legitimate, are yet ſlaves, as being purchaſed. Marriage is forbidden in the firſt degree of kindred; yet a man may marry two ſiſters, one after the death of the other. The king of Siam, who reigned in 1687, married his own ſiſter. The ſucceſſion in private families is in the children of the great wife; and the heir can ſell the little wives and their children, who have only what he pleaſes to give them, or the father, before his death, thought fit to beſtow on them: as to the daughters of the little wives, they are ſold to the beſt bidder, to be little wives themſelves; they may alſo be ſold by the huſband in his life-time; but he can only divorce his principal wife. After this divorce, each party may ſell the children who fall to his or her ſhare, according to the diviſion of the odd and even number before mentioned. Widows inherit the power of the huſbands, ſo far as relates to the children of the odd number, who belong to them; but they cannot ſell thoſe of the even number, if the father's relations oppoſe it, for the children themſelves dare not. Neither does the power of parents extend ſo far as to kill their children; nor of huſbands to kill their wives.

Degrees forbidden.

Although intimacies between freemen and women are not deemed ſcandalous at Siam, yet parents carefully watch their daughters; nor are children allowed to diſpoſe of themſelves in marriage without their conſent. The Siameſe are too proud eaſily to give themſelves to foreigners; at leaſt to invite them, according to the practice of the Pegu women living in the country, who have more ſpirit and vivacity than the Siameſe. It is an eſtabliſhed opinion in the Indies, that the people have more or leſs vigour and ſpirit, according as they are nearer to, or farther from Pegu[1].

Education of children.

The Siameſe children have much docility and ſweetneſs in their diſpoſition. They are educated in extreme modeſty of behaviour; which is ingrafted by the reſpect due to parents, and the ſix months ſervice owing to the prince. Civility is ſo great through the Eaſt, that an European, who has lived there for any length of time, finds much difficulty to re-accuſtom himſelf to the familiarities common in the Weſt.

[1] Loubiere, p. 51, & ſeqq.

Slaves

Slaves and ſervants kneel before their maſters, the head a little inclined, and hands joined above the forehead. The people, in paſſing by one another in the ſtreet, go upright, or ſtooping, with their hands raiſed more or leſs according to the quality of the perſons they ſalute. In viſits, the inferior proſtrates himſelf, and ſits ſilent, till he is firſt ſpoken to. The perſon viſited always offers his place to the viſitant, and treats him with fruit, preſerves, arak, betel, and tea: in ſhort, ceremonies are as eſſential, and almoſt as numerous, in Siam as in China. *Poſtures of reſpect.*

At Siam the right hand is more honourable than the left. In ſome things they ſeem to tranſgreſs the rules of decency: for they make no ſcruple to belch without reſtraint; and wipe the ſweat off their faces with their fingers, for they uſe no hankerchiefs: yet they muſt not ſpit on the mats or carpets, but carry with them a ſpitting-box for the purpoſe. The higheſt place is with them the moſt honourable; and they avoid going under the houſes which are built on piles, that none may tread over their heads. It is alſo the higheſt affront to touch any perſon's head, or hair: even to handle his bonnet, if laid down any where, is a great piece of incivility; yet to lay any thing on one's head, which is given or received, is, in Siam, as well as other countries of Aſia, a very ſingular mark of reſpect. In a word, ſtanding is a much more honourable poſture than ſitting [k]. *Marks of honour.*

The Siameſe put their children, when ſeven or eight years old, into a convent, where they learn to write, and read, and caſt accounts; after which they are taught the principles of their morality, and the fables of Sommona Kodom: but neither hiſtory, law, nor any ſcience. *Learning.*

They have two languages; the Siameſe, or common, and the Bälli, which is their learned or ſacred language. The firſt has thirty-ſeven, the latter thirty-three letters, all conſonants, and both written from the left to the right. The Siameſe reſemble the Chineſe in ſeveral reſpects: it conſiſts moſtly in monoſyllables, and has neither declenſions or conjugations, which are ſupplied by four or five particles, placed either before or after the verb. *Languages.*

Arithmetic, after reading and writing, is their principal ſtudy, in which they uſe ten characters, as we do. They imitate any thing immediately; and, from the firſt day, are tolerably good workmen; but their indolence, owing *Arithmetic.*

[k] Loubiere, p. 54, & ſeqq.

to the heat of the climate, hinders them from making great progreſs. They are naturally poets, but no orators.

They are ſtrangers to all parts of philoſophy, except ſome principles of morality; and have no ſort of theology. They ſtudy no laws, but thoſe of their country, and ſuch only as relate to the employment they exerciſe.

Medicine. The Siameſe are quite ignorant of anatomy, and every kind of chirurgery, excepting phlebotomy. Their whole practice of phyſic conſiſts in uſing certain receipts, handed down from their anceſtors. Their firſt preſcription is to have the patient trampled on by one ſkilled in the buſineſs; and big-bellied women are trampled upon by children, in order to procure an eaſy delivery. They make uſe of purgatives and ſudorifics; and their remedies are generally of a hot nature. The ſick are nouriſhed with boiled rice; but meat broths are counted mortal at Siam, becauſe they too much relax they ſtomach.

Chemiſtry. The Siameſe underſtand nothing of chemiſtry, although they paſſionately affect it; and ſome boaſt of profound ſecrets in this art. The father of the king who reigned in 1687, ſpent two millions in ſearch of the philoſophers ſtone. They are likewiſe no leſs addicted than the Chineſe to the folly of ſeeking out an univerſal remedy; which may render them immortal [1].

Aſtronomy. Theſe people know nothing of geometry and mechanics, and aſtronomy concerns them no more than as they conceive it may be aſſiſtant to divination. They know only ſome practical part, which they uſe in the horoſcopes of the people, and in the compoſition of their almanack, which is a kind of general horoſcope. It appears that they have twice cauſed the kalendar to be reformed by able aſtronomers, who, to ſupply the aſtronomical tables, have taken two arbitrary epochas, remarkable for ſome rare conjunction of the planets; the firſt refers to the year 545 before Chriſt, the ſecond to the 638th after Chriſt. Both theſe ſerved as grounds for calculating the account of the places of the planets; and the latter being found moſt commodious, they have left off the former, which they pretend marks the death of Sommona Kodom, in aſtronomical calculations, although they ſtill make uſe of it in their dates.

Notion of the world. They know nothing of the ſyſtem of the world, and believe, like all the Eaſt, that eclipſes are cauſed by ſome

[1] Loubiere, p. 59, & ſeqq.

dragon,

dragon, who devours the ſun and moon. They hold the earth to be ſquare, on whoſe extremities the arch of the firmament reſts, like a glaſs bell for covering plants. They ſay the earth is divided into four habitable parts, ſeparated by ſeas, like ſo many different worlds, eighty-four thouſand yods, of eight thouſand fathom each, aſunder. In the middle of the four worlds they ſuppoſe a ſquare pyramidal mountain, from whoſe top, which touches the ſtars, to the ſurface of the earth, they reckon the ſame number of yods; the like number from the mountain to each of the worlds; and from the ſurface of the ſea down to the bottom. Now the world we inhabit, which they call Chiampion, lies to the ſouth of this mountain; and the ſun, moon, and ſtars, inceſſantly turning round it, make day and night. At the top of the mountain is a heaven called intratirâſha, over which is the heaven of angels.

Muſic is no better underſtood at Siam than aſtronomy; they uſe no notes, and compoſe, as well as ſing, by ear. They uſe violins with three ſtrings, and very ſhrill hautboys, on which they play tolerably well, accompanied with copper baſons ſtruck with a ſtick. They have, beſides our drums, two ſorts of their own, one beaten with the fiſt, the other ſounded in a very odd manner by turning a ſtick run through the ſides of it. Their trumpets are ſmall, and the ſound of them is harſh [e]. *Muſic.*

No arts flouriſh in Siam. There is no reward for ingenuity, and every one is afraid to appear rich. Beſides, ſhould any one diſtinguiſh himſelf as an artiſt, he would be obliged to work gratis for his prince, who has already ſix months of his labour; they therefore content themſelves with knowing a little of every kind of work which the king employs them in: thus they are pretty good joiners, but bad carvers and ſtatuaries. They make excellent mortar, and underſtand maſonry; yet their brick buildings do not laſt, becauſe they never lay any foundations. They are excellent gilders and gold-beaters; making leaves of it as thin as fine paper, on which the king's letters to other princes are written with a bodkin. With ſuch thin plates of gold or ſilver they ſometimes cover their images, often of a monſtrous ſize, alſo ſword-hilts, but cannot poliſh. They know how to ſmelt metals, and caſt ſome works in moulds, but are bad forgemen; hence their horſes are not ſhod. *Arts.*

[e] Loubiere, p. 64, & ſeq.

Manufactures and commerce.

Their manufactures are very few and mean. The art of tanning and dreſſing leather is unknown to them. They make neither ſilks, woollen ſtuffs, nor tapeſtry, and but very little cotton cloth, of a coarſe kind, and ill painted; yet they embroider to pleaſe the fancy. They paint only in water colours, and that badly, after the Chineſe manner. The moſt general profeſſions in Siam are fiſhing among the common people, and merchandize among thoſe who are able to engage in it; but as the king engroſſes to himſelf the foreign commerce, the home trade is ſo inconſiderable, that it is impoſſible to grow rich by it. In loans they give promiſſory notes of repayment; but neither ſeal nor ſign, excepting with a ſort of croſs for a mark. The integrity of the people is ſo great, that, in the markets, the ſeller counts not the money, nor does the buyer examine the goods.

Meaſures and weights.

They uſe no meaſures in trade, becauſe muſlins and other linens are ſold by the piece; but in ſerving the poorer ſort, who want ſmaller quantities, they meaſure with their arm. In buildings, and ſurveying land, they uſe the fathom. For grain and liquors they uſe cocoa-ſhells, alſo a kind of buſhel to meaſure corn, and a pitcher for liquor. They are not more exact with regard to their weights; but the pieces of their money are better regulated, though frequently counterfeit and light. Their ſilver coins are all of the ſame figure and impreſſion, but of different ſizes. Their tikal, which weighs no more than half a crown, goes for three ſhillings and ſix-pence. Gold is a commodity, and twelve times the value of ſilver. They uſe for ſmall money the kori ſhells, which they call bia, ſeven or eight hundred of which are ſcarce the value of a penny [e].

Their funerals and interments.

The Siameſe bury their dead bodies in wooden coffins, varniſhed and gilded on the outſide. Sometimes they make uſe of leaden coffins; theſe they ſet on a high place, or bedſtead, with feet, and burn perfumes and tapers. Every night the talapoy come to ſing hymns on the occaſion in the Balli language, for which they are entertained, and receive a ſum of money. The place for burning the corpſe is in the fields, near ſome temple, where a ſquare ſpot is ſurrounded with a bambû incloſure, like that of an arbor. It is adorned with painted or gilded papers, repreſenting houſes, moveables, and animals, which are for the uſe of the deceaſed in the next world, where they

[e] Loubiere, p. 69, & ſeqq.

are

are ſuppoſed to become the things they repreſent. In the midſt of this incloſure the funeral pile is made of odoriferous wood; and if the perſons are rich, a ſcaffolding is erected of a conſiderable height, on which earth is laid, and on that the wood. On the day appointed, in the morning the body is carried thither, under the ſound of inſtruments, attended by the family and friends, all in white.

When they arrive at the place it is taken out of the coffin and laid on the pile; then the talapoy ſing for a quarter of an hour, and retire; after which ceremony the ſhews and fire-works begin. About noon a ſervant of the talapoy ſets fire to the pile, which burns for two hours, yet only roaſts the body without conſuming it. If a prince of the blood, or favourite lord dies, the king himſelf ſets the pile on fire, by a rocket ſent along a rope from the palace to the pile. The family entertain the company attending the burial, and for three days beſtow alms on the talapoy. The remains of the body are again put into the coffin, and depoſited under one of the pyramids which encompaſs ſome temple. The poor inter their dead bodies without burning them, or expoſe them in the fields on a ſcaffold, to be devoured by crows and vultures. The Siameſe never burn the corpſe of perſons executed, infants ſtill born, women who die in child-bed, thoſe who deſtroy themſelves, or periſh by thunder, or ſuch extraordinary accidents; believing that ſuch misfortunes never happen to the innocent.

Religion of the Siameſe.

AS the religion of the Siameſe is the ſame, or nearly the ſame with that of the Lahos, which we have already circumſtantially deſcribed, we ſhall here only touch upon a few particulars relating to the Indian doctrine of the ſoul.

All ſouls alike.

The Oriental Pagans are ſo far from thinking that the ſouls have a natural inclination to be in bodies, that they hold the tranſmigration to be a penance. They have no idea of an immaterial ſubſtance; but believe that ſomething of man remains after his death, which ſubſiſts ſeparately from his body, and aſcribe to it all the ſame members, with the ſame ſolid and fluid ſubſtances, whereof human bodies are compoſed.

They pray to the dead, ſo far back as their great-great-grandfather; ſuppoſing their higher anceſtors to be ſo

diſperſed by divers tranſmigrations, that they can hear them no more. The Orientals are afraid of ſpirits, as well as the Chriſtians, but in a more limited manner; for they neither hope nor fear any thing from the dead out of the precincts of their family, profeſſion, ward, or city, at fartheſt [f].

Paradiſes and hells. The moſt common opinion is, that there are nine places of happineſs, and as many of miſery: the nine firſt over our heads, or above this world; the nine unhappy places under our feet. The true paradiſe of the Indians is of another kind: if, after ſeveral tranſmigrations, a ſoul arrives at ſo much merit, that there is not, in any of the worlds, any mortal condition which is worthy of it, they ſay it then enjoys the nireupan, that is, it has *diſappeared*, and will return no more to any world, but remain in a ſtate of eternal inactivity, and real impaſſibility.

State of nireupan.

Its privileges. Before the ſoul diſappears, they believe that, as ſoon as he hath merited the nireupan, he enjoys great privileges in this life; that he acquires a prodigious knowlege, particularly of what happened to him in his ſeveral tranſmigrations, and what ſhall happen till the time of his death; that he ſhall be endued with invincible ſtrength, and the power of working miracles. His death too muſt be of a more noble kind than the common ſort; he "diſappears (ſay they) like a ſpark which is loſt in the air." And it is to the memory of theſe perfectly beatified men that the Siameſe conſecrate their temples.

Enjoyed by ſeveral. Now although the talapoy pretend that ſeveral have attained to this ſupreme felicity, yet they honour only one, whom they deem to have ſurpaſſed all the reſt in virtue. This is the perſon they call Sommona Kodom. Kodom, they ſay, was his proper name, and that Sommona ſignifies, in the Balli language, a *Talapoy of the Woods*.

Loubiere ſays, that in the whole doctrine of the Siameſe, he could find no traces of a divinity. They have no idea of a being who created all things, nor conſequently of any deity; ſo that their whole religion may be reduced entirely to the worſhip of the dead [g].

Self-murder lawful. As to ſelf-murder, the Siameſe think it not only lawful, becauſe maſters of themſelves, but alſo meritorious; judging it a ſacrifice which acquires the ſoul a great degree of virtue and perfection. In this perſuaſion they ſometimes hang themſelves out of devotion; but ſome great diſcontent is generally the true motive, as was the

[f] Loubiere, p. 120. 122. [g] Ibid. p. 130.

caſe

caſe of a Peguer, who burnt himſelf publicly in a temple at Siam, about the year 1680.

As the Siameſe acknowlege no author of the univerſe, ſo they acknowlege no firſt legiſlator. They erect temples to the memory of certain men, concerning whom they believe a thouſand fables, which the ſuperſtition of their anceſtors has invented: and theſe are they whom the Portugueſe have called the gods of the Indies; imagining that whatever was honoured with public worſhip could be no leſs than a god. The Indians indeed have allowed theſe men to be called gods; but the reaſon is, that they do not underſtand the true meaning of the word god.

Hold all religions good.

The Indians have no notion that one nation ought to extirpate another, becauſe they happen to profeſs different religions. They do not maintain, like Europeans, that faith is a virtue. They believe, becauſe they know not how to doubt; much leſs are they perſuaded, that there is a faith and worſhip which ought to be the faith and worſhip of all nations. The prieſts do not preach that a ſoul ſhall be puniſhed for denying their traditions. They are willing to believe all foreign religions, how incomprehenſible ſoever, to be true; but cannot be perſuaded that their own is falſe, or to reject their ſacred books, although they ſometimes acknowlege that there are inconſiſtencies in them. They do not believe their doctrine to have deſcended from heaven, or to have come from the infallible mouth of truth. They hold it to have been born with the man, and written by ſome endowed with extraordinary knowlege, but who never ſinned, or were capable of being deceived, although they were not inſpired [b].

Of the Talapoy, or Prieſts.

Talapoy, kinds of.

THERE are two ſorts of talapoy in Siam, as every where elſe; ſome dwell in woods, and others in cities. Conſidered as religious, they will admit of another diviſion, like the regulars of the Romiſh church, namely, into that of monks and nuns; for there are ſhe talapoy, who have their particular rules, or way of living.

Talapoy of the woods.

With regard to the talapoy of the male ſex, thoſe of the woods are reckoned more holy than thoſe of the cities. They have neither convents nor temples; ſo that having no places of ſecurity to retire to, the people admire the

[b] Loubiere. p. 139, & ſeq.

ſecurity in which they live from wild beaſts. They imagine that the tigers, elephants, and rhinoceroſes reverence them, and lick their hands and feet when they find any of them aſleep.

Talapoy how made. As any perſon may be a talapoy, he who chooſes to enter into the profeſſion, firſt agrees with ſome ſuperior to receive him, and then goes to demand the habit of ſome ſankrat, in caſe the ſuperior he is to remain with is not one himſelf. The ſankrat appoints ſome afternoon for his admiſſion, when the party, his relations and friends, come accompanied with muſic and dancers; neither theſe latter, nor the women, enter the temple, where the ſankrat waits to receive the new member; for whoever ſhould oppoſe his admiſſion would commit a ſin. When he has been ſhaven, he puts on the habit given him by the ſankrat, who, in the mean time, repeats ſeveral words in the Balli language. The ceremony being ended, the new talapoy repairs to the convent where he is to reſide, accompanied by his kinsfolks; but from this time he muſt take his leave of muſic and dancing. Some days after, the relations give an entertainment to the convent, and exhibit ſhews before the temple, which the talapoy are prohibited to ſee [c].

Their habit. The talapoy go with their heads and feet bare, like the people; round their loins and thighs they wear the pagne alſo, but of yellow linen, which is the royal colour. Their habit conſiſts of four pieces; the firſt is the angſa, a kind of ſhoulder-belt, of the ſame ſort of linen, five or ſix inches broad; they wear it on their left ſhoulder, and button it with a ſingle button on the right hip, than which it goes no lower. Over this belt they put another great yellow cloth, which they call pa-ſhivon, or *the cloth of ſeveral pieces*, becauſe it ought to be patched in ſeveral places. The Portugueſe call it the pagne of the talapoy; it is a kind of ſcapulary, which reaches to the ground both behind and before, and which, covering only the left ſhoulder, returns to the right hip, leaving the two arms, with all the right ſhoulder, free. Over this is the pa-pat, another cloth four or five inches broad, which they likewiſe put over the left ſhoulder, but like a hood, deſcending to the navel before, and equally low behind. To keep on the angſa and pa-ſhivon, which muſt always be yellow, they gird their middle with a yellow cloth called rappa-

[c] Loubiere, p. 118.

kod;

kod; and this completes the four pieces of which their habit consists.

They shave all their beard, head, and eye-brows. The Siam razors are of copper. The superior is forced to shave himself, because no person can touch his head without shewing him disrespect; but when he is very old, another is permitted to do that office. By the same rule, a young talapoy dares not shave an old one; but the old may shave the young; that is, the nens or children committed to their education, who know not how to shave themselves. The shaving days are those of the new and full moon, on which they fast. They use a chaplet, or beads, of a hundred and eight grains, on which they recite certain Balli words [d]. *The tonsure.*

The talapoynesses, who are called nang-chi, are clad in white, like the tapakaw, or servants; nor are they, in a strict sense, esteemed religious. A simple superior suffices to give them the name, as well as the habit. They are bound to continence, yet are not burnt, like the talapoy, in case they break the rule. On being convicted of the fact, they are delivered up to their parents, to be bastonadoed, because neither the talapoy, nor talapoynesses, are permitted to strike any person [e]. *Talapoynesses.*

The spirit of the institution of the talapoy is to keep themselves from the sins of the people, to lead a penitent life for the sins of those who bestow alms upon them, and to live on alms. They eat not in common, and are very hospitable to the seculars of all religions: yet they are forbidden to share among their companions the alms which they receive, at least to do it immediately; every one being supposed to repent sufficiently, and not to have occasion to expiate his sins, by bestowing alms. However, they are allowed to give things sometimes to their brethren, and assist them in real necessity. They have two lodgings, one on each side of the door, to receive travellers [f]. *Rules of the order.*

The talapoy are obliged strictly to keep celibacy, so long as they continue in their profession, on pain of being burnt [g].

They are ignorant of the founder of their order; but say, that all those whose statues are honoured in their temples, were of it: and the people believe, that both they and their doctrine are as ancient as the world itself. *Talapoy, their origin.*

[d] Loubiere, p. 116. [e] Ibid. p. 119. [f] Ibid. p. 114.
[g] La Croze Chret. des Indes, p. 115, & seqq.

It

It is one of the privileges of the talapoy that they cannot be put to death. When the preſent king's father ſeized the crown, he thought it impoſſible ſecurely to make an attempt on one of the princes of the blood, till he had firſt artfully prevailed on him to quit the talapoy habit which he wore. In like manner, when that uſurper died, his ſon turned talapoy, to ſecure himſelf againſt his uncle, who had taken poſſeſſion of the throne.

Functions. The functions proper to the talapoy are to educate youth, and to explain their doctrine to the people, out of their Balli books. They preach the day after every new and full moon, and the people conſtantly frequent the temples.

Preaching. When the river is ſwelled, till the inundation begins to ſink, they preach every day, from ſix in the morning till dinner-time, and from one in the afternoon till five. The talapoy relieve one another in this office, the preacher ſitting croſs-legged, in a high chair of ſtate; and when he has finiſhed his ſermon, the people give him alms: ſo that they who preach frequently throughout the year, ſoon become rich.

Lent faſting. This time may be called the lent of the talapoy. Their faſting is to eat nothing from noon, though they may chew betel: but when they do not faſt, they only eat fruit in the afternoon. The Indians are ſo ſober, that a faſt of forty, nay of an hundred days, does not appear incredible to them. Van Twiſt, a Dutch author, affirms, that ſome have faſted forty days, without taking any thing but a little liquor, mixed with ſome bitter wood reduced to powder.

Watch in the fields. After the rice-harveſt, the talapoy go for three weeks to watch in the fields by night, under ſmall huts, made of branches of trees; and in the day return to viſit the temple, and ſleep in their cells. They make no fires on this occaſion, to ſcare away the wild beaſts; ſo that the people look on it as a miracle that they are not devoured [m].

Waſhings. On the full moon of the fifth month, the talapoy waſh the ſtatues with perfumed waters, all but the head, which muſt not be touched, out of reſpect: they afterwards waſh the ſankrat. The people likewiſe waſh him, and the other talapoy. In particular families the children waſh their parents.

How they ſpend the day. The talapoy being raiſed in the morning by the ſound of their bells, waſh themſelves, and attend their ſuperior to the temple where they ſpend two hours in ſinging, or

[m] La Croze Chret. des Indies, p. 115, & ſeq.

repeating

repeating paſſages out of their Balli book. Their poſture, while they ſing, is to ſit croſs-legged, and continually to toſs their talipat, or fan, as if fanning themſelves, in meaſure with their words; which they pronounce in equal time, and in the ſame tone. At their entrance and exit, they proſtrate themſelves three times before the ſtatue.

After prayers, they go into the city for an hour to beg alms. Their method is to ſtand at the gates, without ſaying any thing; and, if nothing is given them, paſs on: but it is rare that the people refuſe them a benevolence; and their relations never fail them. At their return to the convent they breakfaſt; ſometimes preſenting to the ſtatue what they eat. Till noon they ſtudy, or divert themſelves, and then dine. After dinner they read a lecture to the little talapoy; and then go to ſleep, or take a walk in the city. In the evening they ſweep the temple, and ſing there, as in the morning, for two hours: after which they lie down. If they eat a ſupper, is is only of fruit.

Beſides the ſlaves which the convents may have, each has one or two ſervants, called tapakaw, who are laymen, though dreſſed like talapoy, excepting that their habit is white. They receive all the money which is given to their maſters, becauſe theſe latter cannot touch it without ſinning. They have the care of the gardens and lands belonging to the convent, and perform all neceſſary ſervices which their maſters cannot perform without tranſgreſſing the rules of their order [n]. *Servants.*

Every convent is under the direction of a ſuperior, called chaw vat, that is, *lord of the convent*: but all the ſuperiors are not of equal dignity. The moſt honourable are thoſe whom they call ſankrat; and the head of the palace convent is the moſt reverend of all: yet no ſuperior nor ſankrat has authority or juriſdiction over another. *Superiors.*

The miſſioners have compared the ſankrats to biſhops, and the ſimple ſuperiors to pariſh prieſts; they fancy alſo that Siam formerly had ſome Chriſtian biſhops, to whom the ſankrats have ſucceeded. But although the ſankrats only can make talapoy, as none but biſhops can make prieſts; yet they have not any juriſdiction or authority, either over the people or the talapoy, which are not of their reſpective convents. Every convent, deſigned for a ſankrat, is diſtinguiſhed from others by ſtones, bearing ſome diſtant reſemblance to a mitre ſet on a pedeſtal, which are planted round the temple near its walls. The dignity *Sankrats.*

[n] La Croze, p. 177, & ſeq.

of the ſankrat is denoted by the number of theſe ſtones, which are never fewer than two, or more than eight. The king gives to the principal ſankrat a name and an umbrella, with a ſedan, and men to carry it °.

Reſpect paid them. The talapoy never walk out of their convent, or return, without going to ſalute their ſuperior, by touching the ground with the forchead.

Their election. When the ſuperior is dead, the religious elect another; and commonly they chuſe the oldeſt talapoy in the convent, or at leaſt the moſt learned. Perſons who build temples chuſe a ſuperior for the convent, but build no houſes for the talapoy, only as they come and ſettle there.

Talapoy convents. The talapoy live in convents, called vat, which are always erected near ſome temple, named pihan by the Siameſe; both together take up a very great ſquare piece of ground, encompaſſed with an incloſure of bambû. The temple ſtands in the middle; and the cells are ranged at the corners, and along the incloſure, like the tents of an army, the rows being ſometimes double or triple. Theſe are little huts or ſingle houſes erected on piles; and that of the ſuperior a little larger and higher than the reſt. Each convent has ſome gardens and arable lands, with ſlaves to *Lands free.* plough them. All their lands are free from taxes; and the king never touches them, although the real property of them lies in him; unleſs he gives them away by an inſtrument in writing, which he ſcarce ever does.

Talapoyneſſes. The talapoyneſſes have no convents of their own, but live in thoſe of the talapoy; for being all advanced in years, the Siameſe think they may be truſted with the men. One of the ſides of the outward incloſure is allotted for their cells, without any other ſeparation from the reſt.

Talapoy children. The nens, or talapoy children, are diſperſed in the cells of the talapoy, and ſerve thoſe under whom they are placed by their parents. No talapoy ever takes more than two or three; theſe are not all young, for ſome grow old in this condition, which is not entirely religious. The oldeſt of the nen is called taten, whoſe buſineſs it is to pluck up the weeds which grow in the ground of the convent, and which the talapoy think they cannot do themſelves without committing ſin.

The ſchool of the nen is a hall of bambû, ſtanding alone; beſides which there is another, where the people carry their alms, on the days when the temple is ſhut, and where the talapoy aſſemble for their ordinary conferences.

° Loubiere Hiſt. Siam, p. 114. 117, & ſeq.

The

Temples and ſteeples.

The temple is ſurrounded with pyramids ſtanding near it; and the ground on which they are ſituated is higher than the reſt. It is likewiſe ſquare, and incloſed with a wall; between which and the cells is an empty ſpace, which ſerves for a court to the convent. Sometimes along the inner incloſure there are covered galleries, like the cloiſters in Romiſh monaſteries; and on a counter wall breaſt-high, which runs along theſe galleries, they range images, ſometimes gilded. The ſteeple of the temple is a wooden tower, ſtanding alone, which they call horakang, or *the belfry*. The bell, which has no clapper, is ſtruck with a wooden mallet [p].

Feſtival days.

Thoſe days on which the talapoy ſhave, the people abſtain from fiſhing; ſeemingly, as an employment not wholly innocent; for they do not abſtain from any other ſort of work. They likewiſe carry alms to the convents, which conſiſt of money, fruits, pagnes, or cattle: if the cattle be dead, the talapoy eat the fleſh. If not, they let them live and die about the temple, eating them only when they die of themſelves. Near certain temples there is a pond for the living fiſh, which are offered. Beſides theſe feſtival days, common to all the temples, every temple has a particular day appointed to receive the alms, as if it was the feaſt of its dedication.

The people voluntarily aſſiſt at theſe feſtivals, and make a ſhew with their new cloaths. One of their principal charities is to give liberty to ſome animals, which they buy of thoſe who take them in the fields.

Offerings.

What the people offer to the ſtatue is delivered to the talapoy; who preſent it, either by holding it before the image, or laying it upon the altar; they afterwards take it away, and convert it to their own uſe. Sometimes the people offer up lighted tapers, which the talapoy faſten to the knees of the ſtatue.

Of Sommona Kodom, the Founder or Reſtorer of the Siameſe Religion.

THE Chineſe ſay that a Siameſe, named She-kya, was the author of this religion and the metempſychoſis; but the Siameſe themſelves pretend that this doctrine is as ancient as the ſouls themſelves.

But we know, from authentic hiſtory, that it was profeſſed by the Sammans, or Shammans, in the Hither In-

[p] Loubiere, p. 113, & ſeq.

dia

dia, and had for its author Budda, who was either the ſame with Shey-kya, or another propagator of the ſame religion, long before Sommona Kodom appeared in Siam [q].

Sommona Kodom. Some Balli books affirm, that Sommona Kodom was born of a flower, iſſuing from the navel of an infant; who, they ſay, was the leaf of a tree, in form of an infant biting its toe, and ſwimming on the water, which alone ſubſiſted with the deity. This is the very ſame original which is aſcribed to their god Brâmma, by the Indians of Palikatta, on the coaſt of Choromandel [r]; and as the Balli or Palli language ſeems to be the ſame with that ſpoken in the laſt mentioned country, and particularly at Palikatta, as may be preſumed from the word Pali, which is found in the name, it is probable that the firſt Sammâns, with Sommona Kodom, whoſe name ſeems to denote his being one, paſſed from Palikatta into Siam. We are informed by Mr. Loubiere, that the Siameſe ſay Kodom was the proper name of that lawgiver of their's; and that Sommona is an appellative, which ſignifies, in the Balli or Palli language, *a talapoy of the woods*. Now Sammân, or Sammâna, ſignifies the ſame thing in the Malabâr language; a farther proof that Kodom came from the Hither India. The Siameſe give him alſo the name of Pouti Sat, that is, *Lord Pouti*, or Budda, who was the founder of the Sammân ſect; but as the founder of a religion muſt be more ancient than his ſucceſſors, who propagate it, and it is probable Kodom left the Hither India with the Sammâns, who were expelled by the Brammâns; this laſt is a name beſtowed on him in commemoration of Pouti, or Budda, the original author of this religion; or becauſe it may have been imagined, that the ſoul of Budda was revived in him. However that be, the Siameſe call him alſo Pra Poute Chaw, which literally ſignifies, *the Great and Excellent Lord*.

His name whence.

His parents. How wonderful ſoever the Siameſe pretend the birth of Sommona Kodom was, yet they fail not to give him both a father and mother. According to ſome of their Balli books, his father was king of Teve Lanka, that is, of the famous Seylan, or Ceylon. His mother's name was Maha Maria, or the Great Mary: but it is found written Mania, as often as Maria; which almoſt proves that Mania ſhould be two diſtinct words, as Man-ya; becauſe the Siameſe confound the *n* with the *r*, only at the end of words, or elſe of ſyllables followed by a conſonant. However,

[q] Loubiere Relat. Siam, p. 134. [r] Loubiere, p. 136, & ſeq.

this

this circumſtance has engaged the attention of the miſſioners; and perhaps given occaſion to the Siameſe to believe, that Jeſus, the ſon of Mary, was brother to Sommona Kodom; namely, the wicked Thevetat, whom they report to be tormented in hell, with a puniſhment which participates ſomewhat of the croſs.

His death.

As the Balli books are without either dates or the author's name, they can be of no more authority than any tradition, whoſe origin is unknown. Neither does it appear from Mr. Loubiere, that they mention the time when Sommona Kodom lived. All we gather touching this matter, is from one of the Siameſe epochas, which commences from the death of that ſaint in the year 544, before the Chriſtian æra. But this puts the migration of Kodom into Siam many centuries earlier than the expulſion of the Shammâns, or Sammâns, out of the Hither Peninſula of the Indies.

His hiſtory.

But let us quit theſe uncertainties, to ſee what the Siameſe reported concerning Sommona Kodom, out of their Balli books. It is ſaid that his charity not being ſatisfied with beſtowing all his eſtate in alms, he not only plucked out his eyes, but ſlew his wife and children, to give the talapoy to eat[a]. To induce the people more ſtrongly to beſtow alms on the prieſts, the contrivers of this ſtory make the founder of their law act againſt one of the chief precepts of it, as well as all the ties of nature. However that be, Sommona Kodom being freed by thoſe alms-deeds from all the bands of life, devoted himſelf to faſting, prayer, and the other exerciſes belonging to the perfect ſtate: but as the performance of ſuch duties are poſſible only to the talapoy, he therefore embraced the profeſſion, and having filled up the meaſure of his good works, immediately acquired all the privileges of perfection.

Miraculous power.

For inſtance, he found himſelf endowed with ſuch great ſtrength, that, in a duel, he vanquiſhed Pra Swane, another man of conſummate virtue, who challenged him to fight. He had likewiſe the power of working all ſorts of miracles; could make himſelf as big at he pleaſed, or ſo little, as neither to be ſeen or felt by any perſon, though ſtanding on his head: could enjoy the nireupan, or diſappear, by placing another man in his ſtead: he, of a ſudden, and perfectly, underſtood all things in the world: had a knowlege equally of things paſt and to come,

[a] Loubiere, p. 136.

with

with a ſurpriſing agility of tranſporting himſelf from one place to another, in order to preach virtue to all nations.

His diſciples. Sommona Kodom had two principal diſciples, who on altars are both placed behind him, cloſe together; Pra Mogla on his right hand, and Pra Skaribout on his left. Behind them are placed his officers within Kodom's palace; thoſe without the palace are ranged along the galleries or cloiſters of temples. They ſay Pra Mogla, at the requeſt of the damned, overturned the earth, and took hell-fire in his hand, in order to quench it; but as he could not effect his deſign, becauſe the fire dried up the rivers, and conſumed every thing it came near, he beſeeched Pra Pouti Chaw, or Sommona Kodom, to extinguiſh it: Pra Pouti refuſed to comply with his requeſt, ſaying, men would grow too wicked, ſhould he deſtroy the fear of this puniſhment [t].

Kills a Man, Notwithſtanding the perfection which Sommona Kodom had attained, he happened to kill one of the Man, his enemies; as a puniſhment for which fault, his life exceeded not eight years, at which time he died, by diſappearing on a ſudden, like a ſpark which is loſt in the air: for one day eating pig's fleſh, he was ſeized with a colic-fit, which killed him: and it was neceſſary that he ſhould die by a pig, becauſe the ſoul of the perſon whom he had ſlain was then in the body of a pig.

and diſappears. Sommona Kodom having ordered ſome temples and ſtatues to be conſecrated to him, at his death entered into that ſtate of repoſe which the Siameſe expreſs by the word nireupan, as hath been already mentioned. This is not a place, but a ſtate, of being: for, to ſpeak truly, they ſay that he is no-where, and enjoys not any felicity; that he is without power, and in no condition to do either good or evil to mankind. At the ſame time they reckon him happy, offer prayers to, and demand of him whatever they want. Whether their doctrine in this point be inconſiſtent with itſelf, or that the Siameſe extend their worſhip beyond their doctrine, it is certain, that in whatever ſenſe they aſcribe power to Sommona Kodom, they believe that he has it only over the Siameſe, and that he concerns himſelf not with other nations.

Other perfect men. The Siameſe ſpeak of ſeveral other perfect men, who were contemporary with Sommona Kodom, as Pra Swaine, and Pra Ariaſeria, of whom they report, that

[t] Loubiere, p. 137, & ſeq.

he

he was forty fathoms high, that his eyes were three and a half broad, and two and half round; that is, less in circumference than diameter. The Siamese likewise expect another miraculous man, whom they have already named Pra Narotte. They say that this person was foretold by Kodom; that he shall kill his two children for the talapoy to eat; and that, by this pious charity, he will consummate his virtue. This expectation of a new perfect man, makes them watchful and credulous; so that they are apt to believe Pra Narotte is come, whenever they hear of any extraordinary person, especially if he happens to be entirely stupid, because that sort of condition nearly resembles the inactivity of the nircupan [u].

Another Kodom expected.

The Government of Siam.

Degrees of Honours, Laws, Punishments.

THERE are several degrees of honour and dignity in Siam, subordinate to that of nay, which signifies *chief*. For as the people, being a militia, are consequently all taban, or *soldiers*, they are divided into bands, each of which has its nay. The nays are of different power, according to the number of soldiers in their respective bands; and as the number of soldiers in a band is not fixed, neither are all those of the same band of the same company in the army. The people are not slaves to their nay, but may become so, by borrowing money of him, and becoming insolvent.

Titles of honour.

There are seven degrees of these nay, distinguished by the number of their bands, which alone makes offices and employments important in Siam. These degrees of the nay in Siam are like those in the Great Mogol's court, where the lords are denominated one thousand, two thousand, and so on to ten thousand, meaning lords of so many thousand horses [x].

Degrees of dignity among the officers.

There are in Siam six orders of cities, which formerly had each a governor according to its rank: thus a very populous place had a pa-ya for governor; and such as was less populous an okya. These titles are given not only to the governors, but to all the officers of the kingdom, because they are all nay: but the same title is not al-

[u] Loubiere, p. 137, & seq. [x] Idem, Relat. Siam, p. 78, & seq.

ways joined to the ſame office. If a perſon has two offices, he may have two titles.

No ſalaries. Whenever the king makes any conſiderable officer, he gives him a new name. The law of the ſtate is, that all offices ſhould be hereditary, as in Laos; but few families enjoy that privilege long, the leaſt flaw in the patent, fault of the poſſeſſor, or caprice of the prince, being ſufficient to deprive them of it. The ſelling of offices is not permitted in Siam; nor is there the ſame temptation to buy as in other kingdoms, ſince no officer has any ſalary. The prince, indeed, gives them houſes, with arms, a balon, ſome beaſts, ſlaves, and arable lands; but all return to him, with the office, at the poſſeſſor's death. The principal gain of the offices conſiſts in extortions, becauſe there is no juſtice for the weak; all the officers correſpond in plundering the people; and the corruption is greateſt in thoſe who ſhould remedy the evil. The trade of preſents is public: the leſſer officers give to the greater under the name of reſpect; and a judge is not puniſhed for receiving preſents, provided he be not convicted of doing injuſtice.

Oath of fidelity. The form of the oath of fidelity conſiſts in ſwallowing the water, over which the talapoy pronounce ſome imprecations againſt him who drinks it, in caſe he fails in the allegiance which he owes to his king: and all perſons, of what nation or religion ſoever, who enter into his majeſty's ſervice, are obliged to take it.

Laws. The public laws of Siam are written in three volumes. The firſt, called Pra Tam Ra, contains the names, functions, and privileges of all the offices: the ſecond, Pra Tam Non, is a collection of the conſtitutions of the ancient kings; the third, Pra Rayja Kammanet, contains laws and regulations of a later date [y].

Judges. The whole tribunal of judicature, in the ſeveral juriſdictions contained in the provinces, conſiſts properly in a ſingle officer, the chief or preſident, who is the governor of that department, and even commands the garriſons; ſo that the moſt powerful and remote from court may, without difficulty, throw off their obedience, as the judge of Jor, or Johor, has done.

Governors, kinds of. There are two ſorts of governors, one hereditary, the other by commiſſion. The firſt are ſtyled chaw-meuang, that is, *lord of the city* or *province*. Theſe the kings of Siam have ruined and deſtroyed, as much as in their

[y] Loubiere, p. 80, & ſeq.

power,

power, and ſubſtituted the ſecond ſort in their ſtead. To the chau-meuang belong ſeveral legal rights; ſuch as that of ſharing equally with the king the rents of arable lands; the profits of all confiſcations, and ten per cent. on fines; cuſtoms on merchant ſhips in maritime towns. They levy taxes on the frontiers; exerciſe commerce by their deputies; and appropriate the beſt fiſh, when ponds are emptied.

The chaw-meuang, or pouran, is preſident of a tribunal of judicature, and has under him ſeveral officers, according to the different matters which lie before them [z].

In the metropolis there is no other chaw-meuang than the king. The function of governors and judge are divided into two offices: and the ſubordinate offices, which compoſe a tribunal, are diſtributed among the principal officers of ſtate. This tribunal, to which all appeals in the kingdom are made, is held in the king's palace, except when his majeſty removes from thence, at which time the preſident adminiſters juſtice in a tower, without the royal incloſure. To him alone belongs the deciſive voice; yet ſtill there lies an appeal from him to the king.

Suits, how managed.

Every ſuit ought to end in three days; but ſome laſt as many years. The parties either ſpeak themſelves, or by ſome relation not more diſtant than a couſin-german. What each ſays is taken down in writing, by the governor's clerk, who alſo receives the deeds and titles in preſence of the court, who count the lines, to prevent frauds.

Proof by fire.

In accuſations, when the evidence is not ſufficient, they have recourſe to ſeveral ſorts of torture; but chiefly to proofs by water and fire. The way by fire is to fill a a ditch with faggots, five fathoms in length, and one in breadth. Over the length of this heap, when burnt to coals, both parties are to walk with naked feet; generally each is attended by two men, who preſs hard, one on each ſhoulder, to hinder him from paſſing over too quickly: but this weight, they ſay, inſtead of helping to burn him, ſtifles the action of the fire; ſo that often they who do not endeavour to go over lightly, and in haſte, eſcape being hurt, which is the ſign of innocence. If this ever happens, it may likewiſe be owing to the hardneſs of the ſoles of the feet, which become callous, like horn, by going continually barefoot [a].

[z] Loubiere, p. 82, & ſeqq. [a] Ibid. p. 88, & Choiſy, p. 531.

Another method. Sometimes the proof by fire is performed with oil, or other boiling matter, into which the parties thruſt their hands.

The proof by water is determined in favour of him who can ſtay longeſt under it. Sometimes emetic pills are given them by the talapoy, accompanied with imprecations; and he who does not caſt them up is concluded to be innocent. If both parties eſcape in trying one kind of proof, they have recourſe to another. The king ſometimes orders them to be expoſed to tigers: if the beaſt ſpares one, he is held to be innocent; if neither eſcapes, both are accounted guilty; but if both are ſpared, ſome other proof is tried, or rather they wait till the tigers reſolve to devour one or both of them. The reſolution with which the Siameſe are reported to undergo this kind of death, is incredible, in perſons who expreſs ſo little courage in war.

Robbery how puniſhed. The provinces often appeal from one to the other, and an inferior to a ſuperior tribunal, where all matters are determined; only in capital caſes the power of pronouncing ſentence, is reſerved ſolely to the king; who ſometimes delegates it to judges extraordinary, ſent into the provinces for that purpoſe. The uſual puniſhment for robbery is to pay double, and ſometimes treble, the value of the goods ſtolen, by equal portions to the judge and the party. What is more ſingular than unjuſt, every perſon who wrongfully keeps poſſeſſion of another's eſtate, is conſidered as a robber; ſo that, when ejected by law, he not only reſtores the inheritance to its right owner, but pays the full value thereof beſides, half to the injured party, and half to the judge. In caſe the judge hath leave granted him to put the robber to death, he can yet, if he pleaſes, commute the puniſhment into a pecuniary mulct [b].

Rebellion and mutiny. For rebellion or mutiny, they are ripped up alive; then their entrails being taken out, their carcaſes are encloſed in a twig caſe, and tied to a ſtake, for ravenous fowls or dogs to feed on.

Treaſon, murder. For treaſon and murder, elephants are the executioners. The comdemned perſon being made faſt to a ſtake driven into the ground, the elephant is brought, who views him, and goes twice or thrice round him: then, at the command of his keeper, he twines his trunk round the criminal, and pulling up the ſtake with great vio-

[b] Loubiere, p. 87.

lence,

lence, toſſes both into the air. In their fall he receives the man upon his teeth; then ſhaking him off again, claps one of his feet on the carcaſe, and cruſhes it flat.

Capital puniſhments.

Sometimes the king expoſes, to an enraged bull, the criminal, who is armed with a hollow ſtick; which, if it does not frighten the beaſt, cannot hurt him. Sometimes he gives offenders only to be toſſed by his elephants, which they do ſo dextrouſly, as to throw them from one to the other, receiving them on their trunks, without hurting them. But the ordinary chaſtiſements are ſuch as have ſome relation to the crimes. For inſtance, extortion, or embezzlement of the royal treaſure, will be puniſhed by the criminal's ſwallowing gold or ſilver melted: lying, or revealing a ſecret, by ſowing up the mouth, which they will ſlit to puniſh ſilence, where it is not to be kept. Faults in the execution of orders, are corrected by cutting the head with a ſword, called their pricking the head, as it were to puniſh the memory. The ſword is uſed, not only to cut off the head, but to cut the body in two through the middle. The baſtonado is ſometimds alſo employed as a puniſhment of death, and, at beſt, is often very rigorous.

Princes, how executed.

In putting princes to death, whether a king would rid himſelf of ſome relations, or an uſurper extinguiſh the royal race, they take care not to ſhed the royal blood: but, in ſuch caſe, they either ſtarve the party, ſometimes by diminiſhing his food a little every day, or elſe by ſtifling him with rich ſilks; or rather, by laying him at length on a ſcarlet cloth, and thruſting a ſtake of ſanderswood into his ſtomach.

Leſſer puniſhments.

Beſides the above mentioned puniſhments, there are ſome others leſs dreadful, but more infamous: as that of expoſing a man in ſome public place, loaded with irons; or elſe with his neck put in a kind of pillory, called la in Siam, and kanghe in China. This machine is like a ladder, which has only two ſteps or rounds, placed in the middle; and between theſe the priſoner's neck is locked. The ends of the ſides are faſtened to a wall, or poſts, by means of cords, ſo as to ſlip up and down at pleaſure: and the party may either ſit down or ſtand, if the ladder be not too weighty for his ſhoulders. But ſometimes the four ends are fixed upon four poſts; in which caſe he is, as it were, hung by the neck, for he ſcarce touches the ground with the tips of his toes. Beſides this engine, they make uſe of ſtocks and manacles.

Portable pillory.

What is moſt ſingular, the moſt infamous puniſhment is reproachful no longer than it laſts: he who ſuffers it one day, is as much reſpected as ever the next, and qualified for the higheſt employs. Nay, the Siameſe boaſt of the puniſhments which they receive by their king's order, to whom they pay compliments, and make preſents, after the baſtonado is over. To be degraded from a higher place to a lower is reckoned no diſgrace; although ſome hang themſelves in deſpair, when reduced, by ſuch a fall, to extreme poverty. As a father anſwers for the offences committed by his ſon, ſo an officer is puniſhed for the fault of another officer, who is ſubject to his orders [h].

The Nobility and Officers of State.

The nobility.

NOBILITY at Siam is not communicated by birth, but by riches, and the favour of the prince, who gives, as a badge of honour, an employment and a new name, with the bouſſette, which is a kind of little gold or ſilver box to hold betel. They are generally the ſons of the officers of his houſhold whom he thus honours; though ſometimes he confers nobility on the meaneſt of the people; and even upon ſtrangers who have ſerved him well in any capacity.

Each of the five degrees of nobility among the Siameſe has its proper mark of diſtinction. The oyas, who are the firſt, poſſeſs the higheſt places of truſt, and the principal governments in the kingdom: their bouſſette is much better wrought than thoſe of other noblemen; and, when they go in the king's train, the gold circle ſurrounding their pointed bonnet, in form of a crown, is decorated with flower-work and roſes.

Badges and employments.

From the ok-pras, or ſecond order, his ambaſſadors extraordinary are choſen: their bouſſette, though of gold, is not ſo beautiful as that of the oyas; and the gold circle on the cap is adorned only with leaves.

Out of the ok-louans, who make the third rank of nobles, his majeſty appoints his ambaſſadors in ordinary, and leſſer governors: their bouſſette, or betel box, is only of ſilver; but it is enchaſed with feſtoons and branches. The circle round their cap is no more than two inches broad, and much leſs wrought than that of the ok-pras.

Out of the ok-kowns and ok-munes, who compoſe the fourth and fifth orders, the king appoints intendants of

[h] Loubiere, p. 104, & ſeqq.

his

his ſhipping, keepers of his palaces, lieutenants of his prime officers, judges of country towns; in ſhort, the leſs conſiderable places at court are filled with them: their bouſſette and circle are of gold or ſilver, quite plain, without any ornament.

Other diſtinctions.

Many of theſe lords are peculiarly attached to the ſervice of the king's perſon. Theſe are called kang-nay, that is, *within the palace*. Others employed without, to govern affairs, and preſerve good order among the people, are named kang-nok, implying, *without the palace*. The rank of each nobleman, when he appears in public, is diſtinguiſhed not only by the badges before mentioned, but alſo by the richneſs of his ſword, by his balon or pleaſure-boat, and the number of his ſlaves.

Maha ommarat.

The mahah-ommarat, otherwiſe called maha-obarat, is chief of the nobility, and firſt officer of the kingdom: he is, as it were, a viceroy, who repreſents the king, and performs the regal functions in his majeſty's abſence [e].

The chakri.

The chakri regulates all the interior policy of the kingdom; the affairs of all the provinces come before him, as the perſon to whom the ſeveral governors are obliged to render an account, and from whom they receive orders: he is likewiſe preſident of the council of ſtate.

The kallahom.

The kallahom has, by office, the ſole management and command of the war and armies; yet the king may name whom elſe he pleaſes for general: he has the care of the fortifications, arms, and ammunition; he likewiſe iſſues out all orders which concern military affairs.

Praklang, or barkalong.

The praklang, or barkalong, ſuperintends commerce, both foreign and domeſtic, and is the miniſter for foreign affairs, becauſe they almoſt all relate to trade: he likewiſe receives the revenues of the cities.

Their attendance.

All the officers belonging to the government reſiding in the city, whoſe number generally amounts to three thouſand, muſt daily attend in the palace, under pain of being ſeverely ſcourged with ſplit rattans, which cut pretty deep in the fleſh. The larger the marks are, the greater is reckoned the honour; even the ladies themſelves are not exempt from this kind of flagellation, for very ſmall faults, and expoſe the traces of the ſcourge on their backs, ſeeming to glory in being ſo much taken notice of by the greateſt king on earth [f].

[e] Loubiere, p. 89, & ſeqq. Choiſy, p. 530.

[f] Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 178.

Ambaſſadors how received and treated.

An ambaſſador, throughout the Eaſt, is looked on no otherwiſe than as a king's meſſenger; not as repreſenting his perſon: the chief honour is paid to the letters of credence, of which he is the bearer. Thus while the king of France's letter was carried in a balon, or boat of the body, his ambaſſador extraordinary made his entrance in one of an inferior rank [g].

Every foreign ambaſſador is lodged and maintained by the king during his ſtay, and may deal in merchandize; but cannot treat of any affair till he has delivered his credentials, and communicated his original inſtructions.

Their audiences.

Solemn audiences are always given in the capital, and with great magnificence, eſpecially that of reception; out of that city every audience is accounted private, and performed without ceremony. In all audiences the cuſtom is for the king to ſpeak firſt; in thoſe of ceremony he confines himſelf to a ſet number of queſtions, after which the ambaſſador is ordered to addreſs himſelf to the barkalon, upon all the propoſitions which he has to make. When the king has ſpoken to the ambaſſador, he gives him arek and betel, with a veſt, and ſometimes a ſabre and chain of gold [h].

Of the King, his Authority, Forces, Revenues, and Commerce.

King's name concealed.

THE kings of Siam are, by their authority, perfectly deſpotic. It it not eaſy to know their name, which is ſuperſtitiouſly concealed, leſt any enchantment ſhould be made by it. Others report, that their kings have no name till after their death, and that it is given by their ſucceſſors.

His titles.

The king of Siam is entitled a god on earth, in whoſe court are to be found juſtice, mercy, and benevolence to mankind, and ſtyled, by way of excellence, king of the white elephant; a title which, however, is conteſted by the king of Pegu [i].

Speaking of the king, the Siameſe call him Pra Maha Kraſſat; Pra ſignifies *reſpectable*; Maha *great*; and Kraſſat *living*; the Portugueſe, miſtaking the word Pra for God, ſay they call him the Great Living God; the words

[g] Loubiere, p. 103. [h] Ibid. p. 109, & ſeq. [i] Hamilt. New Acc. of E. Indies, vol. ii. p. 176.

are

are of the Balli, which is the learned language, not always well underſtood by themſelves [k].

The kings of Siam ſometimes marry their own ſiſters; the other wives, who are in general called Chaw Vang, or ladies of the palace, pay obedience to her as their ſovereign, who judges and chaſtiſes them when they do amiſs. Officers are continually employed in preſſing young maidens for the vang; but as the Siameſe are unwilling to part with their daughters, they often redeem them with money. *His women.*

The queen has her elephants and balons, with ſome officers to take care of, and attend her when ſhe goes abroad; but is ſeen by none excepting her women and eunuchs; for on ſuch occaſions ſhe goes out in a chair, furniſhed with curtains ſo as to ſee and not be ſeen. The people run out of the way, or proſtrate themſelves as ſhe paſſes. The queen has her magazine, her ſhips, and her treaſures. She likwiſe trades as well as the king, and has her ſhare both of the domeſtic and foreign commerce. *The queen.*

The eldeſt ſon of the queen ought always to ſucceed by the law; but this order of ſucceſſion is often ſet aſide by force, and ſometimes the king leaves the crown to the ſon of a favourite concubine. As for daughters, they do not ſucceed to the throne, being ſcarcely looked upon as free [l]. *The ſucceſſion.*

The king's guards are of ſeveral ſorts. The firſt are called painted arms, of whom there may be about ſix hundred in the palace; theſe watch the king's perſon, and are his executioners; but on days of ceremony he cauſes his ſlaves to be armed for ſhew. *King's guards.*

The king's horſe-guard is compoſed of men from Laos, and another neighbouring country. Beſides this, he has another foreign horſe-guard of a hundred and thirty gentlemen, namely, two companies, each conſiſting of thirty Moors of Hindûſtân; one company of twenty Chineſe Tartars, and two of Râjahpouts, or Pagan Indians, each containing twenty-five men. Theſe two nations are famous for their courage. The king, beſides furniſhing them with horſes and arms, pays each Moor about five hundred and forty livres a year, and gives him a red ſtuff veſt. The captain of each company has eight hundred and forty livres, with a ſcarlet veſt. The Râjahpouts are maintained at the ſame rate; but each Tartar coſts him

[k] Loubiere, p. 7. [l] Ibid. p. 80.

nd

no more than forty-five livres a year, and their captain a hundred and twelve [m].

Attended by women. The true officers of the king's chamber are women; for none else have admittance there. They make his bed, and dress him, prepare his victuals, and attend him at table; nor ever stir out but with his majesty, who is said to have only eight or ten eunuchs in his service, both white and black.

Procession by land. His majesty bestows his annual blessing on his people in September, when he passes through the city, with a numerous train of elephants, drest in their finest trappings, and accompanied with musical instruments. Among them is the white elephant, which is only of a cream colour. All the while this procession lasts, the people lie prostrate till the king is passed.

Another by water. In the month of November he also shews himself on the river in a balon or barge, thirty or forty yards long, about two broad, and two feet deep, with a throne placed in the middle, seven feet high, covered with a rich canopy, where he sits; his greatest lords resting underneath: he is rowed or paddled forward by fifty or sixty men, in carnation-coloured vests, with fine caps or turbans on their heads. There are above a thousand other barges to wait on his majesty, besides several thousand common balons; so that for five or six miles the river is covered with boats, except near the king's barge, which has half a mile of the river left clear for it to move in. About four or five in the evening he goes in his barge to a temple, about three miles above the city, on the opposite side of the water, where the priests pray for him, and present him with two yards and a half of cotton cloth, which must be both spun and woven the same day that his majesty comes to receive it. After sun-set he embarks again, and returns in state to his palace. His reason for honouring the river and his people at this time of the year, is to forbid the water to rise above such a number of inches in height, or to continue increasing above such a number of days [n].

Lives in distrust. The distrust in which the king of Siam lives, appears from the precautions which he takes to prevent secret caballing among the great men; to keep the gates of their palaces shut; to permit no armed person to enter; and to disarm their own guards. A gun, fired by accident, or

[m] Loubiere, p. 96, & seqq. Choisy, p. 527, ubi supra, p. 176, & seq. [n] Hamilt.

other-

otherwiſe, near enough to the palace for the king to hear it, is a capital crime *.

No courtier dare appear before the king without being ſent for. When two lords meet, they muſt ſpeak loud enough to be heard, and in preſence of a third perſon; ſo jealous are thoſe monarchs. In ſhort, every man in Siam is an informer, and obliged to diſcover whatever he hears ſaid in the leaſt regarding the king, under the pain of death. However, the king is not haſty in giving credit to informations; he commonly requires two witneſſes; and, for the greater certainty of diſcovering the truth, has his ſecret ſpies every where.

Rigour to his brothers.

The jealouſy of theſe kings makes them cruel to their own brothers and kindred, as in other countries of Aſia; they maim them ſeveral ways, deprive them of ſight, or weaken it by fire; lame them by diſlocation of their joints, or impair their intellects by obliging them to drink ſtupifying potions.

The people eaſy.

After all, the evils of this kind of government ſeldom extend farther than the nobility or officers of the crown. The people enjoy liberty, and other pleaſures of life, which their ſuperiors are ſtrangers to; nor are they ſo liable to be oppreſſed by the great men as in many other countries, ſince the ways of carrying complaints to the throne are all open.

Their reigns precarious.

However, as theſe abſolute monarchs oppreſs their ſubjects with taxes, as well as tyrannize over the nobles, who indeed are all their creatures, they ſeldom have the love of either; ſo that, if attacked by an invader or a rebel, none are zealous in their defence. The people conſider their condition would be no worſe under one than the other. As the whole power is united in the prince, inſtead of being diſtributed among the great officers and magiſtrates, he has no ſolid ſupport in time of danger and ſedition. His chief dependence for his authority ſeems to lie in his ſeal and great treaſure; the firſt he entruſts to none; but as both are liable to be ſeized, whoever gets either in his poſſeſſion may eaſily dethrone the reigning prince.

The king's forces.

The king of Siam has no other troops in pay than his foreign guard. His armies are compoſed of the militia, who are obliged to ſix months ſervice; and thus his garriſons are ſupplied by people, who ſerve or relieve one another in turn. As they have no horſes, their armies conſiſt only in elephants and infantry, naked and ill-armed.

* Loubiere, p. 105.

Their

Their order of battle and encampment is this: they range themselves in three lines, each composed of three great square battalions: the king, or general, has his post in the middle battalion, and every chieftain of a battalion stands in the middle of that which he commands [n].

His elephants.

The army being thus ranged, every one of the nine battalions has sixteen male elephants in the rear; these are called elephants of war; each carries his particular standard, and is accompanied with two female elephants; both kinds are mounted, each with three armed men. There are some elephants also for carrying baggage. The Siamese rely much on elephants in battle, although this animal, for want of bit or bridle, cannot be securely managed; and he frequently turns on his own master when wounded. He likewise dreads fire to such a degree, that it is almost impossible to break him of this prejudice by training. The battle begins with artillery, of which they have but little; and in case those instruments of death do not put an end to it, the opposite armies advance within reach of their small shot and arrows, but never come to a close engagement. Besides, as their religion inspires them with the horror of blood, they do not shoot point blank, but elevate their pieces and arrows, so that the missiles describe a curve, and fall, like a shower, upon the heads of the enemy. The contest is seldom of any long duration; in a few minutes one side generally gives way. Indeed, when they find themselves pursued, they shoot with levelled pieces, in order to stop their adversaries, who, if slain, are then thought to be guilty of their own death, by approaching too near.

Siamese way of fighting.

Avoid shedding of blood.

In short, the armies of Siam, and indeed all the neighbouring countries who hold the metempsychosis, busy themselves only in making slaves. Their usual way of making war is to invade each other's dominions in different parts at the same time, and carry off whole villages into captivity.

Siamese not fit for war.

This way of making war is well suited to the timorous disposition of the Siamese; for the sight of a naked sword is sufficient to put a hundred of them to flight; and there needs only the resolute tone of an European, who wears a sword by his side, or a cane in his hand, to make them forget the most express orders of their superiors. In short, these people are destitute of courage; and indeed all the Indians in general are pusillanimous and effeminate from

[n] Loubiere, p. 106, & seqq.

the

the nature of the climate, as well as from the deſpotiſm of their ſovereigns.

No fortified places. There are no places in Siam properly fortified; for the caſtles they have, which are ſmall and untenable, would ſcarcely ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of a regular ſiege.

King's naval power. The king is yet more feeble by ſea than by land. He has made ſhift to procure five or ſix very ſmall ſhips, which he employs both in merchandize and in war, as privateers, when occaſion requires; but the officers and ſeamen in whom he confides are foreigners. In his naval expeditions he propoſes only to make repriſals on ſuch of his neighbours as injure him in trade; and his corſairs having nothing in view but to make prizes, are better practiſed in ſtratagem than fighting. Beſides theſe ſhips of a double character, his majeſty has fifty or ſixty gallies, which are no better than boats for making bridges of. They have wooden anchors, and carry each fifty or ſixty men to row and fight by turns. Theſe gallies cruiſe along ſhore in the gulf of Siam [o].

His revenues. The king of Siam's revenues are two-fold; thoſe of the cities, and thoſe of the country, reducible to the duties, 1. On cultivated lands. 2. On balons, or boats. 3. On all commodities imported and exported, and on ſhips according to their burden. 4. On arak, or rice brandy. 5. On fruit-trees; but there is no duty laid on pepper. 6. Confiſcations and fines. 7. The ſix months ſervice, which is often bought off with money or goods.

His demeſnes. Beſides the above mentioned duties, the king has, in ſeveral parts of his dominions, gardens and lands, which may be conſidered as his demeſne. The produce goes to maintain his ſlaves and cattle which are upon thoſe places, and the ſurplus he ſells. The preſents which this prince receives may be conſidered as a caſual revenue, as well as the legacies which his officers bequeath him at their death, or which he takes from their ſucceſſors. In a word, the extraordinary duties which he exacts from his ſubjects on ſeveral occaſions, as for the maintenance of ambaſſadors and building of public works.

Trade of Siam engroſſed by him. The king of Siam has undertaken to enlarge his revenue by commerce, which he carries on both with his ſubjects and ſtrangers. He has, in effect, engroſſed trade wholly to himſelf; ſo that he may be called the only merchant in his dominions: nor is he content with ſelling by wholeſale, but has ſhops in the markets for retailing his goods.

[o] Loubiere, p. 90, & ſeqq.

The

The chief of these is cotton cloth, which he sends into his provincial magazines. His predecessors used to send them thither only once in ten years; so that, when they were sold off, his subjects had liberty to trade for the rest of the term; but now he continually furnishes them himself, and when his magazines are overstocked, obliges the people to clothe their children before the accustomed age. The other commodities which he vends are kalin, or tin, ivory, saltpetre, lead, sapan-wood, arek, and skins, which last he sells by treaty to the Dutch only. Powder, sulphur, and arms, which are prohibited goods, may yet be purchased at his magazines. However, many of these things are clandestinely sold by the people to the Hollanders.

His subjects are permitted to trade in rice, fish, salt, brown sugar, sugar-candy, ambergris, wax, the gum with which varnish is made, mother-of-pearl, edible birds-nests, gum-gutte, incense, oil, cocoa, cotton, cinnamon, nenuphar, somewhat different from the French, cassia, and dates.

To conclude, the king's revenue at present amounts to six hundred thousand crowns, whereas formerly it did not exceed three hundred and seventeen thousand [p].

The History of Siam.

Its Ancient Kings, and Modern State; Wars with Chiamay and Pegu; the King poisoned by his Queen in 1545.

Brief sketch of it.

THE first king of Siam, according to their history, was named Pra Poat-honne Sourittep-pennaratui Sonanne Bopitra. The place where he kept his court was called Chay Pappe Mahanakon, and he began his reign in the year 1300, according to their epocha, which begins from the death of Sommona Kodom, as they pretend, although Loubiere thinks it has quite another foundation. Ten other kings succeeded; the last of whom, named Ipoja Sanne Thora Thesma Teperat, removed his royal seat to Tasoo Nakora Louang, a city built by himself. The twelfth king after Ipoja Sanne, who name was Pra Poa Noome Thele Seri, obliged all his people, in the year 1431, to follow him to Lokontay, from whence this prince removed his seat to the city Pipeli, which he

[p] Loubiere, p. 93, & seqq Choisy, p. 527.

built

built towards the western mouth of the Menâm. Four kings more succeeded him, the last of whom, Rhamatilonda, began to build the city of Siuthiya, or Siam, in 1594, and there fixed his court. The king, who was on the throne in 1689, was the twenty-fifth from Rhamatilondi; so that they then reckoned fifty-two kings in the space of nine hundred and thirty-four years, but not all of the same blood.

This is all we can yet learn of the Siamese history, from those who have visited the country, till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when Siam began to be known on account of its wars with Pegu, and other neighbouring countries. The first author who speaks of these affairs is Mendez Pinto, who has been detected in a thousand falsehoods; therefore we shall not obtrude upon the reader his romantic account of the invasion from Chiamay, the enemy's defeat, the reduction of the kingdom of Quibem by the king of Siam, his expedition into Chiamay, and finally, the siege of the capital of Siam by the Brama king of Pegu.

In the year of Christ 1568, Chaumigrem, otherwise called Mandaragri, the Barma king of Pegu, after he had subdued all the neighbouring countries, and extended his dominions to the frontiers of China, turned his arms against Siam, which he entered with an army of fifteen hundred thousand men, and proceeding to the capital, closely besieged it; but notwithstanding this prodigious force, he could not have taken it, had not one of the gates been opened by the treachery of some of the inhabitants. In consequence of its reduction the whole kingdom submitted to the conqueror. What was the king's name who reigned at this juncture is not mentioned: we only learn that he became tributary, and that the queen, with his two sons, were carried to Pegu; the eldest of these was named Râjah Api, that is, *the Fiery King*; but he was, by the Portuguese, called the Black, and his brother the White King. A.D. 1568. *Conquered by the Chaumigrem.*

Some years after this event, the king of Pegu allowed the two princes to return to Siam, to visit their father, with whom they continued till the death of the Barma monarch, which happened in 1583. His successor, Pranjinoko, ascending the throne, the king of Siam revolted. While Pranjinoko was at war with his uncle, the king of Ava, who likewise aspired to the dominion of Pegu, the king of Siam's son arrived, under pretence of putting himself under the protection of the new Barma monarch. *The princes return.*

He

He brought with him fifty elephants, and eight hundred armed men. The great Barma, or captain-general, who was left behind to govern in the king's absence, directed the prince to conduct his troops towards Ava, to join the Barma army; but instead of taking that route, he returned to Siam.

Siam revolts.

The prince having acquainted his father with what had passed in Pegu, and how the great Barma had taken upon him to direct his motions, the king seized this opportunity to throw off his dependency, and informed Pranjinoko, that since a slave had presumed to give an answer to his son, whom he had sent to join his majesty in the war, he would no longer pay any regard to him, or acknowlege him for his superior. Provoked by this declaration, the king of Pegu sent the great Barma at the head of a powerful army into Siam; but that general lost a great number of men before the capital, as well by the excessive heat of the weather, as by the bravery of the besieged: this loss obliged him to return with his forces. However, the king of Siam sent the sovereign of Pegu word, that if he had taken the field himself, he would have paid him his compliments, but that he would not deign to submit to a person who was his inferior. The Barma king replied, that it was his will the least of his slaves should subdue the greatest prince who was his subject [q].

The Peguers overthrown.

The king of Pegu, resolving to allow his neighbour no rest, sent his brother-in-law with a much greater power than the former, to invade Siam; but this served only to make the defeat more signal, for the Siamese army, commanded by the Black Prince, meeting the enemy in the field, cut two hundred thousand of them in pieces, and gained a complete victory. This new misfortune only exasperated Pranjinoko, who determined, if possible, to reduce this revolted vassal, raised an army of seventeen hundred thousand men, including eighty thousand horse, and fifteen hundred elephants. The command of this vast force he gave to his eldest son Maupa Râjah, and, as if already sure of victory, conferred on him the title of the king of Siam. At the news of this formidable power all Siam trembled, except the valiant Black Prince, now king, who marched against the enemy and gave them

Râjah Api king.

[q] Balbi Viag. Ind. Orient. p. 110, 115. Pimenta ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746. Floris apud Collect. Voy. 4to. vol. i. p. 439.

battle.

battle. In the fight the two kings met, and encountering on their elephants, Maupa Râjah was ſtruck dead to the ground: his troops immediately fled, and were purſued for a whole month by the Siameſe, who deſtroyed the greater part of that vaſt army.

After this remarkable victory, which happened about the year 1590, Râjah Api was freed from farther moleſtation on the ſide of Pegu, by the dreadful calamities which enſued in that kingdom. At length the neighbouring kings taking advantage of the diſtreſs to which Pranjinoko was reduced, about the year 1599, invaded his dominions on all ſides: among the reſt Râjah Api, deſirous to retaliate the ſeveral devaſtations which that prince had made in his territories, entered Pegu with a conſiderable army, and laid ſiege to the city of Uncha, or Pegu, the capital; but, after lying two months before it, he was obliged to retire, and return to Siam, with the loſs of one hundred thouſand men. On Pegu's ruin, which happened in the year 1600, Siam began to recover its former power under this warlike king, who in the ſpace of about five years, ſubdued the countries of Kamboja, Lanjang, Jangomay, Lugôr, Patane, Tanaſſerim, and ſeveral others.

The White King.

In 1605 the Black King died, and left his dominions to his brother, called the White King; who was a covetous prince, but yet enjoyed the throne in peace till 1610, when he likewiſe departed this life. He left ſeveral children behind him, a circumſtance which occaſioned much diſtraction; on his death-bed, he cauſed his eldeſt ſon, a young prince of great hopes, to be ſlain, at the inſtigation of Jokkrom-meway, one of the principal lords of Siam, who having been poſſeſſed of a great number of ſlaves, thought to have uſurped the ſovereignty. However, he miſſed of his aim, for the White King's ſecond ſon aſcended the throne after his father's deceaſe, being then about twenty-two years of age, and ſoon after diſpatched Jokkom-meway. That traitor had, among other ſlaves, two hundred and eighty Japaneſe, who reſolving to revenge their maſter's death, and atchieve ſome memorable exploit, ran to the palace, and, ſurpriſing it, compelled the new king to deliver into their hands four of the principal nobles, whom they ſlew, as the chief adviſers of their maſter's death. Having, after this outrage, uſed the king for ſome time at their diſcretion, they forced him to ſign, with his own blood, ſuch conditions as they propoſed, and to give them ſome of the chief

A.D. 1612.

His ſon ſucceeds.

talapoy, or priests, for hostages. This precaution being taken, they committed great abuses, and departed with immense treasures, the Siamese not able being to prevent their retreat.

Several kingdoms revolt.

Upon this occasion, the kingdoms of Kamboja and Lanjang revolted. In the preceding year, the king of Lanjang entered Siam, and advanced within three days journey of Odiya, the capital city, hoping to find the country still embroiled with the Japan slaves. But as they had departed before this invasion, the king of Siam took the field against his enemy, who thought fit to retreat at his approach[r].

We know not how long this king reigned, or who succeeded him; nor are we acquainted with any affairs of Siam, from the beginning till the middle of the last century, excepting the following particulars. In the year A.D.1616. 1616, the king of Siam sent ambassadors to Goa, who acknowleged the favours received from the Portuguese; and, in answer to the letter delivered by James de Mendoza, his majesty offered the port of Martavân for the king of Portugal to build a fort there, likewise to maintain the garrison, and a small fleet to cruize on that sea against the king of Dika.

Portuguese embassy.

The ambassadors were splendidly entertained, and F. Francis, a Dominican friar, sent to accompany them back with the same character, and a costly present. The ambassador proposed to the king, that both nations should join their forces to subdue the king of Ava; that there should be a free trade between Siam and Malakka; and that he should not admit the Hollanders into his country. The Siamite answered, that the Portuguese merchants might freely resort to his ports, and be exempt from all duties; that his subjects should trade to Malakka; that he had admitted the English, Dutch, and Malays, into his ports, on account of the great respect they shewed him, and the need he had of their friendship; that he had assisted the Portugese against the Dutch, and was no way concerned for the harm the people of Malakka had done the queen of Patane, because she was a mad-woman; but that, she being now dead, he had placed one of more discretion in her room, and desired there might be a free trade with her, as well as with Siam; that the goods of such Portuguese as died in his dominions, should descend

[r] Floris, ubi supra, p. 439, & seq. De Faria, ubi supra, p. 120.

to

to their heirs; and that such of them as committed any crimes, should be tried at his court, to prevent any injustice being done them by the prejudice of magistrates. Thus the Dominican was dismissed, and two Siamese were sent back with him by the king, to go as his ambassadors into Portugal [1].

The king's character.

De Faria y Sousa, the Portuguese historian, speaks of another embassy, sent to Goa in 1621, by the king of Siam, desiring some Franciscans would come to preach in his dominions. F. Andrew, of the Holy Ghost, being sent, his majesty built a church for him, at his own expence, and offered him much riches; which, to the great admiration of that prince, says our author, he constantly refused. This monarch De Faria calls the Black King, perhaps mistaking him for Râjah Apî before mentioned, and speaks of him as living in the year 1627, giving him the following character. He was small of stature, of a disagreeable aspect, and disposition partly wicked, and partly generous. Though cruel men are generally cowards, yet he was very valiant, as well as cruel; and whereas tyrants are commonly avaritious, he was, on the contrary, exceeding liberal; so that, in some things, he displayed as much goodness, as he did barbarity in others. He was not content to put thieves and robbers to death in the ordinary way, but caused them to be torn to pieces for his pastime, by tigers and crocodiles. Understanding that a king, his vassal, intended to rebel, he shut him up in a cage; and having, for some time, fed him with morsels of his own flesh, torn from his body, caused him to be fried in a pan. With his own hand he cut seven ladies through the middle, only because, as he said, they walked too fast; and ordered the legs of three others to be chopped off, because they stayed too long when sent for money to bestow on the Portuguese.

His great cruelty.

Even to brutes.

His severity extended even to brute beasts. He cut off the paw of a favourite monkey, because the silly animal happened to put it into a box, wherein were some curiosities. A horse, no less prized by him, had his head struck off in the stable, because he did not stop at his majesty's command. The crows making a noise over his palace, he caused five hundred of them to be catched; some of which were killed, others imprisoned in cages, and the rest turned loose, with yokes about their necks. In short, a tiger, which did not immediately seize a criminal who

[1] De Faria, ubi supra, p. 237, & seq.

was cast to him, was, by his command, beheaded as a coward. So much for the wicked side of this prince's character. Now to speak of his virtues: he kept his word inviolably; was scrupulously exact in the execution of justice; liberal above measure; and very merciful to those who, in his opinion, committed pardonable faults. A Portuguese being sent by him to Malakka, to purchase commodities, lost them all at play, and yet had the firmness to return to the king, who received him kindly; saying, he valued the confidence reposed in his generosity more than all the goods which the man could have brought. He shewed great respect to the Portuguese priests; and encouraged planting the Romish religion in his territories. To conclude his eulogy, his courage was invincible[t].

His generosity.

This prince seems, by his character, to be the same Râjah Hapi mentioned by Mandelslo, who says he lived about the year 1616; and at that time acknowleged the sovereignty of the king of Pegu; but a few years after threw off his dependency. Entering the kingdom of Pegu with a powerful army, he laid siege to the city of Arrakan, making a vow not to depart till he had reduced it: but not being able to take the place, he built a house near it, where he died.

Râjah Hapi had a favourite named Oki Kronwi, who aspiring to the crown, brought four or five hundred Japanese into the kingdom, clothed like merchants, in order to murder the king. This design, however, miscarried; for Râjah Api died a natural death, as before mentioned. But after his decease, Oki Kronwi seized the throne, and caused himself to be proclaimed king.

A revolution.

However, the son of Râjah Hapi, by the assistance of his friends, found means to expel the usurper; but was not fortunate enough to keep the crown in his possession: for he was likewise slain, and succeeded by his younger brother, who continued to reign in 1639[u].

This king had conceived so great an aversion to the Japanese, on suspicion they had a design upon his person, that he put some to death, and expelled the rest; yet afterwards permitted them to return and enjoy their ancient posts; but they did not exceed the number of five or six hundred[x].

Siam in distraction.

At what period this prince began to reign, or how long he continued on the throne, does not appear from Man-

[t] De Faria, p. 361, & seq.
[u] Mandelslo, Voy. p. 127.
[x] Ibid. p. 125.

delslo;

deſſo; who informs us, that the laſt war which the kings of Siam made on Jangomay and Lanjang, was purely out of ambition to ſupport the ſovereignty which they pretended to, over thoſe kingdoms. He proceeds to tell us, that the king of Kamboja, who was tributary to this monarch, revolting, the king of Siam entered his territories with a ſtrong army, but was oppoſed ſo vigorouſly, that he was forced to retire. The country, after this invaſion, enjoyed a long peace, till the death of the king; who, having cauſed his brother to be murdered, in order to ſettle his ſon on the throne, one of the princes of the blood uſurped the crown.

Reign of Chaw Paſa-thong. He depoſes the King, and uſurps the Throne. His Daughter's Funeral: the cruel Executions which attended it.

THE king who reigned in 1639, muſt have been the famous Chaw Paſa-thong, mentioned by later writers; for we are told that he died in 1657, after a reign of thirty years. But if Paſa-thong was an uſurper, he could not be the ſecond ſon of Râjah Api, but muſt have been the prince who immediately ſucceeded him; unleſs we could ſuppoſe, that, after the death both of the uſurper and his elder brother, he aſcended the throne in the year laſt mentioned, in which Râjah Api muſt have died; for De Faria ſpeaks of him as living, at leaſt in the beginning of it. Van Vliet, who wrote the hiſtory of this prince, ſays he was an uſurper, and of the royal blood, though not that he was the brother of the former king. But Loubiere, who allows him to have been an uſurper, charges Van Vliet with a miſtake, in aſſerting that he was of the royal race [y]. However that be, his acceſſion to the crown in 1627, is farther confirmed by the age of his ſon Chaw Naraya, who was twenty-four years old at his father's death [z].

Chaw Paſa-thong uſurps the throne.

One remarkable circumſtance in his uſurpation is, that, having entered by force of arms into the palace, he compelled the king to quit it, and fly into a temple; from thence he cauſed the unfortunate prince to be dragged, and carried back again to the palace: where he was declared unworthy of the crown and government, which he had deſerted.

Depoſes the king.

[y] Loubiere, Relat. Siam, p. 9. [z] Gervaiſe, Hiſt. Siam. p. 244.

Marries the princess.

This king, before his usurpation, had been chakri, or chancellor; in which post he gained so much credit and wealth, as opened the way for him to the throne. To establish himself the firmer on it, though already married, he espoused the daughter of his predecessor. This princess exerted her utmost endeavours to avoid the match; unable to endure the thoughts of wearing a crown, in prejudice to four brothers, whom she tenderly loved. The resistance which she made on this occasion, and the affection which she openly expressed for her brothers, made the tyrant resolve to put them all to death; but having had notice of their danger, they, by assistance of some faithful servants of their family, who still were employed at court, escaped out of the palace, where they had been confined. Two of them took refuge in the kingdom of Laos, where they were kindly received; but the other two, hoping to find an asylum at Pipli, perished there, by the treachery of those on whom they depended for protection and assistance. This is the account given by Gervaise: but, according to Loubiere, Chaw Pasa-thong put to death all the princes of their blood. Two indeed escaped the slaughter longer than the rest; but, in the year 1650, the last of them underwent the same fate, with one of his sisters, upon an accusation notoriously false; but the particulars whereof are related by Struys, who was an eye-witness, on the following occasion.

Destroys her brothers.

His daughter's funeral.

Great preparations were made for burning the corpse of the king's only legitimate daughter. In the month of February 1650, in the middle of the court or parade, before the palace, were erected five wooden towers of excellent workmanship, with architrave, frize, and cornice, adorned with gilding, painting, and sculpture. Within the great tower, which stood in the middle, was a very costly altar, covered with gold, and set with precious stones, about six feet from the ground. On this altar was placed the body of the princess, in a coffin of gold, an inch thick. She was in a standing posture; her hands joined; her face turned towards heaven; her robe had a long train, beset with jewels; her crown, her necklace, and her bracelets, likewise covered with diamonds, were of an inestimable price.

Ceremonies paid to the corpse.

All the grandees of the kingdom, with their ladies, apparelled in white, without any ornament, passed along; scattering flowers and perfumes round the body, and weeping bitterly as if they had lost what they held dearest in the world. This mournful scene having lasted near two hours,

hours, the body was put in a chariot, and drawn very slowly towards the funeral pile, attended by the same lords and ladies, still weeping. Before them marched the king's eldest son, aged about twenty, only brother of the deceased princess by the same mother. He was dress in white, and mounted on an elephant, whose housing was embroidered, with chains of gold: on his sides were his two brothers by different venters, riding on elephants accoutred like the first; each holding a long scarf of white silk, one end of which was fastened to the horse. On the sides of the horse walked fourteen more of the king's sons on foot, clothed also in white, with branches of palm in their hands.

Funeral pile.

On each side of the way, were stages or scaffolds, where the lords of inferior rank expected the convoy. When the body arrived opposite them, some threw several kinds of habits among the people, and others oranges full of sikols or mases, two pieces of money, the first worth about half a crown, the latter but half that sum. The body being at length come to the funeral pile, the grandees took it with great respect, and laid it thereon, several instruments sounding in the mean time; whose mournful notes, accompanied with the lamentations of all the court, were capable of softening the hardest hearts. This concert being ended, they covered the body with sandal and aquila wood: then having cast thereon a great quantity of perfumes, the king and nobles returned to the palace; leaving the ladies with the corpse to lie two days upon the pile.

Female mourners.

Though they must have been already sufficiently tired with weeping, yet they were obliged, by the ceremony, to continue that dismal exercise for those two days, without intermission. This was a severe penance, from which those of the greatest quality were not excused; and, to see that it was punctually performed, certain old women were mixed with them, who, with a kind of whip or scourge, lashed those, who, oppressed with sleep or weariness, slept but one moment. Mean while, the priests were mounted on scaffolds, in the court, praying night and day for her soul; and sometimes they intermitted their prayers, to throw among the people garments of all sorts, utensils for house-keeping, instruments serviceable to artificers, beds, mats, and other moveables.

Fire-works.

On the side of the court there were erected twenty other towers, made of reeds, lined within and without

out with paper of several colours. These were filled with variety of fireworks, which were played off for fifteen days successively. During this interval the king caused large alms to be given both to the poor and to the priests: the expence of which, added to the preparations already mentioned, amounted in the whole to five thousand kalsi, which make about sixty-six thousand pounds English. In this account we do no reckon the several statues of gold and silver; among which there were two of the first metal four feet and an half high, and an inch and half thick. These were set up, for the honour of the deceased princess, in the most beautiful temple in the country; and were composed of gold, silver, and jewels, which she had received during her life, as well from the king her father, as from the principal lords of the court [a].

The body burnt.

The body having reposed two days upon the sweet-scented wood which served to burn it, all the court went to relieve the doleful ladies, who now appeared extremely meagre. The ceremony began with prayers and speeches made by the priests. When they had finished their offices, the king took a lighted wax candle from the hands of the arch priest, and set fire to the funeral pile, on which the body was consumed, lying in the gold coffin, enriched with jewels and other ornaments. When they came to gather up the ashes, in order to inclose them in an urn of gold, there was found a piece of flesh, of the size of a young child's head, which the fire had not touched. The king, looking upon it eagerly, said to the lords who were present, "What think ye, is it out of respect, that the flames have spared these remains of my daughter's body?" Then waiting for their answer, one of them said, that his majesty had too much understanding to doubt what he saw. "How!" replied the king, all in a fury, "I have but too much reason now not to doubt any longer, what I have a thousand times suspected, that my daughter was poisoned." So saying, he gave orders for securing all the women who had served the deceased princess.

Nobles, falsely accused.

These were put to the torture, but confessed nothing. Nevertheless the king's fury seemed to increase every day; so that a number of innocent people were imprisoned, and underwent the same cruelties. When the king found none about him on whom to discharge his fury, he, on

[a] Struys's Voy. ch. viii. p. 41, & Glanius Voy. p. 132.

various

various pretences, ſent for the greateſt men in the kingdom, whom, with their wives, he ordered to be confined. The torture employed to diſcover the guilty among theſe, was that of fire, already mentioned. He cauſed ſeveral pits to be dug round the city, about twenty feet ſquare, wherein great fires were kindled; and thither the priſoners were ſent loaded with chains. They were firſt made to ſtand in tubs of hot water, to ſoften their ſkin; and the ſoles of their feet being afterward ſcraped with ſharp irons, they were carried before the judges, who examined them concerning the pretended poiſoning. Thoſe who ſtill denied the fact were obliged to walk barefoot upon burning coals; and if their feet were found to be burnt or bliſtered with the fire, they were deemed guilty.

Put to various deaths.

Thus convicted, they were put to various kinds of deaths; ſome were tied to poſts, and killed by elephants: others were buried in the road to the city, up to the chin, and all paſſengers ordered to ſpit on them; nor durſt any, under pain of death, give them the leaſt relief, or haſten their death, an indulgence which thoſe miſerable objects moſt ardently requeſted [b].

Executions renewed.

Theſe cruel executions continued four months; during which the lives of an incredible number of perſons, were taken away. The pretence for all this cruelty was the ſuſpicion of the princeſs's having been poiſoned; but it was afterwards well known, that the king had long formed the deſign to cut off all the chief officers of the ſtate, whom he began to diſtruſt; and the better to effect it, without danger of a rebellion, he had lately raiſed an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, declaring that he intended to denounce war againſt the Chineſe [c].

A.D. 1670.

Late king's daughter put to death.

The laſt act of this tragedy, though firſt reſolved on, and to which the former executions were only preparatory, was the death of two of the preceding king's children; of whom, at this time, there remained no more than three, two daughters and a ſon. They began with the elder princeſs, who was accuſed of the pretended poiſoning, becauſe ſhe could ſcarce forbear laughing, when all others wept at the funeral of the deceaſed. She was brought forth with a great number of ladies, who were all led through the fire; but, according to report, none of their feet were bliſtered, excepting thoſe of the princeſs. In conſequence of this conviction, ſhe was caſt

[b] Struys ibid. ch. ix. p. 44, & ſeqq. [c] Gianius, ibid. p. 140.

into

into a dungeon, loaded with chains of gold. Next day she was brought again to the hall of audience in the palace; where, upon being threatened with the torture, she told her judges, that, in case the king would promise to put her to death, without exposing her in public, she would discover the whole affair, without farther trouble.

The king having granted her request, she declared, that the fact was committed by her and her nurse, who had employed certain sorceries, which occasioned the piece of flesh to remain unconsumed. She added, that her ignominious death did not trouble her so much as the miscarriage of her good design; which, in case it had succeeded, would have restored the small remains of her family to their former state, and freed the nation from the slavery of so cruel a tyrant. On farther examination, she protested, that the poison was not provided for the innocent princess who was dead, but for the king himself. When this confession was reported to the usurper, he ordered the executioner to cut a piece of flesh out of her body, and force her to eat it. The lady suffered her flesh to be torn away with amazing patience; but when he tendered it to her to eat, she exclaimed, "O wretched tyrant! thou mayst tear my body to pieces, but hast no power over my mind. Know that I defy thy cruelty; and that the effects of thy sham plot will speedily appear, when the remaining virtue of my royal race shall avenge themselves of thee and thy tiger brood." With these, and the like speeches, she continued to revile the king; till, by a second order from the palace, she was hacked in pieces, and thrown into the river.

Her courage.

Her brother put to death.

The same day her only brother, aged twenty years, was brought to execution. The Dutch were told he had been pardoned, on account of madness, which he had counterfeited during the course of this tragedy: but as soon as he mounted the scaffold, it appeared that he had all his senses about him; for he behaved with such grace and modesty, that some of the courtiers could not forbear shedding tears. He likewise, in a bitter speech, so vilified the king, and vindicated himself, that the populace were almost moved to insurrection. He concluded his harangue with severe reproaches; and declared himself more concerned for the ill success of his sister's attempt, than his own death. Seeing the executioner approach, he cried out, "Innocent indeed I am, as was my sister: but now, thou inhuman tyrant, since it is thy will it should be so, I scorn to desire thy pardon, that thou mayest

His bravery.

not

not hope for the leaſt pity from the hands of them who ſhall hereafter revenge my death." Thus was all the race of the former king extirpated, excepting one daughter, who was not capable of doing any thing againſt the intereſt of the reigning prince [d].

This is all we meet with in the authors before us, concerning this prince; who died in the year 1657, after a reign of thirty years [e]. He had by his firſt wife one daughter and four ſons; and by his ſecond one daughter and one ſon. This ſon, who was twenty-four years old when his father died, ſeemed to be the only prince living intitled to the crown, as all his mother's brothers, who only had a right to diſpute it with him, were dead; but all his hopes, as well as the wiſhes of the people in his favour, were eluded, by the artifices of his father's brother, Pra Sitama Racha, who took poſſeſſion of the throne. The young prince, deeply reſented this ill uſage in his heart; but thought it prudent to ſmother his diſguſt till a more favourable opportunity, which not long after preſented itſelf. The brutiſh uncle having reſolved to take his ſiſter for a concubine, the young prince oppoſed it with ſo much courage, that the tyrant determined to cut him off: but the nephew being informed of his deſign, by the very perſons who were to have aſſaſſinated him, he took the field, and requeſted aſſiſtance from the foreigners reſiding in Siam.

Pra Sitama Racha ſlain by his nephew.

The Portugueſe were the firſt who joined him, on his promiſe to favour their commerce, and reward their ſervices liberally. He had ſcarce aſſembled one thouſand men, when he marched with them directly to the palace; where, having put to the ſword all who oppoſed his paſſage, he opened himſelf a way to the king's chamber. The uſurper, being in no condition to defend himſelf, had changed his dreſs, with an intent to eſcape in that diſguiſe, among his domeſtics; but being diſcovered by a Portugueſe, the prince attacked and killed him with his own hand.

The heads of the conſpiracy were arreſted; ſome of whom he puniſhed for examples, and made friends of others, by his generoſity.

This event happened, according to Loubiere, in the year 1657; but Kæmpfer places it on the 9th of October 1656, three months after Sitama Racha's uſurpation [f].

[d] Struys Voy. ubi ſupra. [e] Loubiere, p. 9. [f] Gervaiſe Hiſt. Siam, p. 245, & ſeq.

Reign

Reign of Chaw Naraya.

He attacks and kills his Uncle, who had usurped the Throne. Quells several Revolts. Bishops sent to India. Mission of Siam. The Jesuits form a Design to convert the King, and all his Subjects. War with Kamboja.

Chaw Naraya ascends the throne.

AS soon as this prince, named Chaw Naraya, saw himself in peaceable possession of the kingdom, he solemnly married his father's daughter by his first wife, and she was declared queen, with all the usual ceremonies. His own sister he gave in wedlock to one of his half-brothers, a very honest man, who had no hand at all in the conspiracy, as the four others were suspected to have had, on which account they were disgraced. Two of them died of grief. He who was married survived them ten or twelve years, and then left the world without issue. The other two lived till the king's death, and were sacrificed by the usurper who succeeded him. One of these two, that he might take from his brother all occasion of distrust, became a talapoy. He lived in a great temple near the palace, whither the king went often to visit him, and offered him the chief post in the state, which he always refused. This modesty gained him the entire confidence of his majesty, and veneration of the people, who looked on him as a saint. The other brother, who was paralytic, led an obscure and languishing life, in a little castle belonging to the capital. Whenever he appeared, he affected to stutter, and talk wildly, that the king might spare him on account of his imbecility.

The queen dies.

The two princesses, his own sister, and his wife, died about the year 1680, within three or four months of one another; and their bodies were burnt in the palace, on the same funeral pile. The king was so afflicted at the death of the queen, whom he passionately loved, that he never would marry a second time, but contented himself with a few concubines.

The princess, her great talents.

The princess, who was the issue of that marriage, inherited all the virtues of her mother. She was tall and handsome; extremely agreeable, and had a great deal of vivacity, accompanied with solid judgement. The king, at two different times, payed a very extraordinary compliment to her superior understanding, by putting the crown, to which she was presumptive heir, on her head, and resigning to her the government of his kingdom for twenty-four

four hours. In the execution of this arduous task she exceeded his expectations; for she reasoned and decided on the most difficult affairs of state, proposed by his council, and, what she wanted in experience, was supplied by the depth of her capacity. There was only one circumstance with which she might justly be reproached; and that was her too great severity to her maids of honour, whom, for the smallest faults, she often caused to be shaved in her presence, and thus they were dishonoured for the rest of their lives.

Mompe Totso, his adopted son, designed for the princess.

The king had an adopted son, a very handsome youth, possessed of great spirit. He had rendered himself very popular, by his obliging carriage, and was loved exceedingly by his majesty. He was treated as one of the king's own children; had a sherolle, or pavilion, on his elephant; was as richly dressed as the king himself; entered at pleasure into his apartment; and was exempted from prostrating himself in his presence. It was whispered at court, that the king had this prince by one of his concubines, whom he politically married to an ok-kown, as soon as he found her with child; and that as soon as he was born, he had him brought into his palace, and publicly adopted him for his son. Chaw Naraya finding him answer his early wishes, designed him as a husband to his daughter, who discovered an affection for him; both by her sorrow at his turning talapoy, about the year 1683, and the joy she expressed when she heard he had renounced the profession.[s]

Several revolts quelled.

Chaw Naraya did not give himself up to effeminacy and sloth, like other Indian princes, but immediately put himself at the head of his army; and having defeated his neighbours who had invaded his dominions, returned to his capital, and applied himself diligently to the affairs of government. He stifled the seeds of civil war, by his prudent conduct; and several cities, which designed to revolt, were restrained within the bounds of duty, by the privileges which he granted them; while others, which had actually thrown off their subjection, were reduced to obedience without much bloodshed. Some traitors about him, who intended his assassination, being discovered, he caused them to be put to death privately, rather than with any noise; but the conspiracy which mostly endangered his life, was that of the talapoy. These priests of the law, who, in appearance, lead so holy a life, assembled by agreement, on their chief festival, in the principal temple, with a design to murder the king, who was to assist on that

Plot of the priests.

[s] Choisy, p. 247, & seqq.

occasion.

occasion. As it is the custom for his guards to remain without the pagod, and they had resolved, as soon as the king, with only five or six of his officers, were entered, to shut the doors, they thought themselves sure of their blow; but, by good fortune, two officers having been sent before, to see if every thing was ready for celebrating the day, they were much alarmed at the extraordinary number of talapoy; and more so, when they perceived arms concealed under their gowns. The king was secretly informed of this circumstance; and the conspirators, having been convicted on the spot, were all put to the sword by the soldiers, who were sent into the temple for that purpose.

By this action, though strictly justifiable, Chaw Naraya acquired the character of a cruel and bloody prince; nor were the priests at all industrious to remove that prejudice out of the minds of the people. A sankrat took the liberty to tell the king to his face, with some warmth, that his subjects murmured against him, and were offended at the rigour of his punishments. The king received this charitable remonstrance with a good grace; but, in a few days, sent the prelate one of those great baboons, so much abominated by the Siamese; with an express command to feed him well, and let him do what he would in his house, till farther orders. The mischievous animal no sooner entered the sankrat's house, than he began to make dreadful havock; he broke a great quantity of the most costly chinaware, and gnawed to pieces the richest carpets; bit some of his domestics, and beat others. In short, the sankrat, unable to bear the creature any longer, went and begged his majesty to deliver him from so wicked a guest. "What," replied the king, smiling, "you cannot endure the inconveniency of an ape for only three or four days, yet would have me suffer the insolence of my subjects, a thousand times more insupportable than the most malicious apes, all my life long. Go," added he, "and learn this lesson, that if I know how to punish the wicked, I know also how to reward the virtuous." In effect, there was no kind of favour which an honest man might not reasonably expect of him; nor did he ever turn away unrewarded any person, who did service either to himself or the public [h].

Insolent sankrat pleasantly punished.

Bishops sent to India.

About the time that this prince ascended the throne, great endeavours were employed in Europe towards propagating the Romish faith in the East. In this bold under-

[h] Gervaise, p. 252, & seqq.

taking

taking the French aſpired to have the principal hand. The pope who had been long importuned to ſend biſhops into the Eaſt Indies, in order to make prieſts of the natives, to ſupply the want of miſſioners from Europe, purſuant to the ſcheme of Alexander de Rhodes, the Jeſuit, had at length conſented; and three perſons, all Frenchmen, were nominated for that purpoſe; Francis Pallu, canon of St. Martin of Tours; M. de la Motte Lambert, formerly counſellor of the Court of Aids in Normandy, and afterwards director of the great hoſpital of Des Invalides in Roan; and Ignatius Cotolendy, rector of the principal pariſh in Aix. The firſt was made nominal biſhop of Heliopolis, and had Tong-king for the principal place of his miſſion; the ſecond was appointed biſhop of Berytus, whoſe juriſdiction extended over the kingdoms of Champa, Kamboja, and Kochin-china, with the three ſouthern provinces of China, the iſland of Hay-nân, and other parts; the third was conſecrated biſhop of Metellòpolis, and had the northern China committed to his paſtoral care [1].

Miſſion of Siam.

The eaſtern Aſia being thus divided among the three French biſhops, who were to act as apoſtolic vicars, in their reſpective departments, they left Europe in 1660, accompanied by ten eccleſiaſtics. The biſhop of Berytus, arriving at Siam, reſolved, in 1663, to repair to China, in order to execute his paſtoral function in that empire. He accordingly left Siam to go by ſea, but was driven back by a furious tempeſt; and underſtanding afterwards that a perſecution was begun in China againſt the converts to the Romiſh faith, he reſolved, in concert with the biſhop of Heliopolis, to ſettle in Siam, a fixed reſidence for the French miſſioners. To this ſcheme they were inclined by the ſituation of the country, which lay conveniently, as the center, from whence they might eaſily convey themſelves, or ſend eccleſiaſtics, into the neighbouring kingdoms, whenever the way ſhould be open.

The Jeſuits hopes to convert the king ill grounded.

Purſuant to this reſolution, they eſtabliſhed a ſeminary there, for educating youth, and learning the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all ſettlements, or camps, as they are called, at the capital. The French named their's the camp of St. Joſeph. The ſeminary proved of ſuch good effect, that, in 1665, the biſhop of Berytus ſent miſſionaries from thence to China; and in

[1] Voy. de l'Eveque de Beryte, p. 3, & ſeq. Alſo Pallu Abrege des Miſſ. p. 13.

1667,

1667, built a church, the ground of which was given to them by the king, who alſo expreſſed a regard for the miſſioners, and took ſome pains to inform himſelf concerning their religion. Theſe condeſcenſions in his Siameſe majeſty, encouraged the biſhops to attempt his converſion. To this end they preſented him with a book of cuts, containing the myſteries of the life and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, the apoſtles, and evangeliſts; in hopes that he would enquire into their hiſtory, which he accordingly deſired they would explain. P. Laneau, who ſpoke and wrote the language of the country, inſerted an explanation of them in the blank leaves of the book. This being ſhewn by the king to his chief doctors of the court, they confeſſed the religion of the miſſioners was good, but ſaid, that what his majeſty profeſſed was as good. This is what the biſhop of Berytus reports in one of his letters. He adds, that the king often ſaid their religion pleaſed him; and to his good opinion of it, imputed the favour which he ſhewed the miſſioners, and the orders which he gave to furniſh materials for building them a church.

But he not only found that theſe were no proofs of the king's inclination to be baptized, but had the integrity to confeſs it; ſaying, that they had reaſon to fear thoſe favourable tokens proceeded from the ſame condeſcending diſpoſition which he ſhewed to others, who endeavoured to perſuade him to change his religion. For he obſerves, that, ſince the time when the queen of Achîn had invited him to embrace the Korân, he had treated the Mohammedans more favourably than before; and, in a ſubſequent letter declares, that the greateſt obſtacle to the propagation of the Romiſh religion in Siam was the credit of the Mohammedans, and their extreme zeal to eſtabliſh their faith. For as they were numerous in the country, drove a great trade thither, and poſſeſſed many conſiderable poſts in the ſtate, they made no ſmall progreſs by their intrigues at court; and endeavoured to influence the king, particularly, by alledging the example of ſo many neighbouring monarchs, who had renounced their idolatry, to become the followers of their prophet. In 1668 two ambaſſadors arrived, one from Achîn, and the other from Golkonda, on the ſame account; and the laſt of them obtained leave to build a moſque in the capital city. "Theſe aſſiduities, (concludes the biſhop,) joined to the ſignal ſervices which the Mohammedans do the

the Siamese, makes it reasonable to fear, that Siam will at length become Mohammedan [k].

Audience of the bishops.

The bishop of Heliopolis returned to Europe in 1665, on the affairs of the mission; and embarked again for Siam in 1673, with letters from the king of France and pope Clement IX. accompanied with presents, to thank his Siamese majesty for the favours bestowed on the French bishops, and to desire a continuance of his protection. On this occasion the bishop obtained an audience of the king, as ambassador from France and the pope; and had the privileges of sitting in his presence, without the accustomed prostrations during the ceremony; concessions never before granted to any foreigners. At the end of the audience, in which the letters above mentioned were read, the king told Mr. Lambert, bishop of Berytus, that as he had the advantage to commence an alliance between the two kings, it was also his business to seek out the means of maintaining it. They were afterwards admitted to a private audience, wherein the king discoursed with them for three hours, about the state of Europe, and its princes, particularly the grand monarch. He then enquired what might be the motive which had induced the bishops to cross so many seas, and the king of France to send his subjects to countries so far from home. These questions furnished them with the opportunity which they wished for, to inform his Siamese majesty, that zeal for the salvation of souls, and a strong desire in their prince to extend the kingdom of God, was the sole cause of their voyage. The king of Siam made answer, that he was willing to promote their monarch's glorious designs; and to give him proofs of the esteem which he had for his virtue, he resolved to make him an offer of a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built, to the honour of Louis the Great, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside [l].

Their hopes revived.

We are told, that the honour done the French bishops, on occasion of these audiences, filled the whole court with esteem, both for those prelates and the holy law which they professed: and when it was known that the king had promised to build a church to the God of heaven and earth, several persons embraced the religion of the French. They forthwith presented a petition to the king, requiring that he would permit his subjects to embrace the Romish

[k] Relat. Miss. Eveq. Franc. p. 6, & seqq. & Voy. des Eveq. p. 76. 107. 113. 120. 123.

[l] Relat. Miss.

faith. His majesty declared, in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all persons at liberty to embrace the Christian religion; and soon after sent one of his courtiers privately to acquaint the bishop of Berytus, that he would in time permit the preaching and exercise of the Romish religion, by a solemn edict [m].

Missioners sent for.

This was the state of the mission in Siam in the year 1674, at which time they had three schools in the capital, and the seminary was vastly increased. Notwithstanding these, and the recruits which had arrived from time to time, they were in great want of missioners in the year 1675; so that the bishops wrote very pressing letters into Europe for a considerable number to be sent them, in order to carry on the work of conversion among the Indians [n]. We have been the more particular in relating the establishment of the French mission in Siam; because it seemed necessary, in order to explain the occasion of the two famous embassies from Louis XIV. to Chaw Naraya, several years after, as well as to give light into the cause of the great revolution, which happened in that kingdom.

In the interval between the year 1675 and the first of those embassies, we meet with scarce any thing farther concerning the affairs either of the mission, or of the Siamese history. Gervaise, the only author who has undertaken to give an account of this king's reign, says nothing more about it than what has been already related; excepting a few particulars touching the part which Chaw Naraya took in the wars of Kamboja, with which, and the other neighbouring states, the Siamese seem to have been embroiled for many years. Kamboja, indeed, had been distracted with civil wars, occasioned by the ambition of its princes, ever since the year 1628. Towards the year 1680, Nak Soreshit having killed Nak Protien, seized the throne; and resolved to marry the wife of Nak Kotrey, a prince of the blood, who had fled to Kochin-china, upon this assassination. The lady made the less resistance to the tyrant's pursuit, as she had determined to revenge upon him the death of her brother-in-law; and accordingly stabbed him in bed, the first night of her marriage. At the same time she dispatched two couriers, one to Nak Kotrey, to give him notice of what she had done in his favour; the other to Nak Sesta, son of Nak Protien, signifying, that it was time for him to come and share the kingdom with the prince her spouse.

War with Kamboja.

[m] Relat. Miss. Franc. p. 227. 233, & seq. 228. 388.

[n] Ibid. p. 61.

When

When Nak Seſta arrived, inſtead of acknowleging the ſervice which this princeſs had done him, he killed her with the ſame dagger, wherewith ſhe had ſlain his mortal enemy. Mean while Nak Kotrey returned from Kochin-china; but when he heard of his wife's death, he was ſo much afflicted, that he retired into a diſtant foreſt, where turning talapoy, he ended his days in peace. During his life, Nak Seſta, intimidated by the guilt of his crime, durſt not appear in public, or aſſume the title of king; but as ſoon as he was aſſured of Kotrey's death, he aſſembled his friends, and, by their credit, got poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. However, not thinking himſelf abſolutely ſecure without the king of Kochin-china's conſent, and knowing that monarch had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with him, he ſent him very rich preſents, in order to engage him in his favour; but this great prince, who was not to be bribed to do injuſtice, adjudged to Nak Seſta that part of Kamboja which his father had formerly enjoyed; and gave the other half to Nak Non, ſon of Nak Praſhoufa, who had been adopted by Nak Shân, the former king [z]. *Revolution there.*

Nak Seſta, diſſatisfied with the king of Kochin-china, refuſed to ſtand by his arbitration, and declared war againſt Nak Non. The two kings fought ſeveral battles; but the equality of their forces always held the victory in ſuſpenſe. In a few months after theſe conteſts Nak Siſta dying, left for his ſucceſſor Nak Son, who was very young. As ſoon as Nak Non received advice of his death, he had the generoſity to ſend his ſon very conſiderable preſents, and a large number of talapoy, to perform his father's funeral with the greater pomp. But thoſe who governed the kingdom during the young prince's minority, received the preſents with contempt, and were ſo baſe as to put all thoſe poor prieſts to death. This inhuman outrage kindled a war between the two kings. Nak Non, to ſtrengthen his intereſt, applied for ſuccours to the king of Kochin-china; and Nak Son put himſelf under protection of the king of Siam, who ſent him troops, and furniſhed him with money. The two armies coming to a battle, after a bloody fight Nak Non was defeated, and obliged to retire into Kochin-china. But Nak Son did not long enjoy the fruits of this great victory: two or three years after this event, three thouſand Chineſe, whom the Tartars had driven out of their native country, joining the Kochin-chineſe and Kambojans, who were of Nak Non's party, *The Siamese forces aſſiſt Nak Son.*

[z] Gervaiſe, ubi ſupra, p. 275, & ſeqq.

with this prince at their head, fell on Nak Son; and having defeated him in several battles, he was forced to fly into the forests, to avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. His only resource in this extremity was to demand new succours of the king of Siam, who sent him five hundred of his best troops; but these being too few to resist the great number of enemies, almost all of them lost their lives.

Most of them slain.

Towards the end of the year 1685, Chaw Naraya designed to send Nak Son eighteen thousand men by land, and a squadron of four or five great ships, commanded by Portuguese and English; together with sixty large barks, to which they give the name of gallies, under the conduct of the bravest Siamese officers [a]. The king's council were much against his intermeddling in this war. They represented to him, that it would one day or other, bring upon him the whole power of Kochin-china, which had declared against Nak Son: that this prince had already been defeated several times; and that the forces which he was going to lend him could not possibly be strong enough to prevent another overthrow. Chaw Naraya replied, "It signifies nothing; the honour which the king of Siam will acquire, by protecting an unfortunate prince, who is allied to him, and from whom he can never expect any thing, will make him amends for all his losses." The event of this was such as the king's council feared it would be; at least we are informed, that his army was not successful by land [b], and that this assistance given to Nak Son had intailed a course of hostilities on the Siamese, with Kamboja and Kochin-china, which had not terminated in the year 1720.

Siamese Embassy to France. Mr. De Chaumont sent to Siam: his Memorial to convert the King; Chaw Naraya's acute Answer. History of Lord Faulkon. Another Siamese Embassy to France.

Siamese embassy to France.

LET us now return to the affairs of the French mission. About 1682, two officers of the king of Siam's court arrived in France, accompanied by Mr. Le Vachet, a priest of the foreign missions settled in that country, in order to enquire after two ambassadors who had been sent some time before by the king of Siam to Louis XIV. Those first envoys passed over to Bantam, in the island of Java,

[a] Gervaise, p. 277, & seqq.

[b] Hamilt. New. Acc. E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 173.

and

and embarked on board the Rising Sun, a ship belonging to the East-India company, with magnificent presents for his most christian majesty. But not returning to Siam within the time expected, and a report being spread in that country that the vessel had been cast away, therefore the king thought fit to send the three persons above mentioned, in order to inquire into the truth of the matter.

French embassy to Siam to convert the king.

They arrived in France just at the time when Louis XIV. was about sending some Jesuit mathematicians to China, in order to make observations for the improvement of geography and navigation. The king of France, considering how earnest the king of Siam appeared to be in seeking his friendship, and that there were hopes besides of his becoming a convert to his religion, nominated the chevalier De Chaumont ambassador to that monarch. He carried with him the abbè De Choisy, who was to continue with the king of Siam in quality of ambassador till his baptism, in case he should become a proselyte to the Romish faith; the two Siamese officers, Mr. Le Vachet above mentioned, four other churchmen, and six Jesuits, destined for China[c]. Mr. De Chaumont arrived at Siam the 24th of September 1685, almost six months after he had left Brest; fully determined, out of his great zeal, to push the affair of religion to the utmost; but it soon appeared that there was not so much ground to hope for the king's conversion as the Jesuits had pretended.

All the hopes they had of the king's conversion was grounded on this contingency; that lord Faulkon, called by the French lord Constance, who was of the Romish religion, being then prime minister, would have interest enough to prevail on his master to become a Christian.

Chaumont's speech and memorial.

Mr. De Chaumont, in his speech at his first audience, earnestly recommended to his Siamese majesty to forsake the worship of the images of his own country, and embrace the religion of his master. On this occasion, we are told, that when Chaw Naraya read the king of France's letter, he said he saw that monarch wanted to make a Christian of him, and dropt some words of encouragement; and that he promised lord Faulkon to protect the religion of the missionaries throughout his dominions[d].

Mean while the ambassador was wholly taken up about the conversion of the king, which was the subject of his embassy and the rather, as he understood the Persian

[c] Tachard's First Voy. Siam, p. 4.

[d] Choisy Journ. Voy. Siam, p. 285, & seqq.

ambaſſador came upon the ſame errand, with whom he was reſolved to be before hand. Hereupon Mr. De Chaumont drew up a ſhort memorial on that head, and gave it to lord Faulkon, in order to deliver it to the king. The miniſter ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the propoſal; and, in a long conference on this occaſion, would have diſſuaded him from preſſing the king upon that point. He adviſed him not to ſpeak of the affair, alledging, that the king, who was extremely attached to the religion of his anceſtors, would be ſtrangely ſtartled at ſuch a motion; that it would cauſe diſorder, as things then ſtood, and could produce no good. But the ambaſſador perſiſted in his opinion, and intreated lord Conſtance to preſent that writing to his majeſty. The miniſter thus earneſtly preſſed by the zealous Chaumont, took the memorial, and carried it to his maſter, telling him at the ſame time, how ſolicitous the king of France was to have his majeſty of the ſame religion with himſelf.

The king's acute and diſcouraging anſwer.

Chaw Naraya having peruſed the memorial, bade lord Faulkon tell the ambaſſador, "That he was exceedingly troubled to find the king of France, his good friend, ſhould make ſuch a propoſal; that he referred it to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty himſelf to judge, whether the change of a religion, received and followed through his dominions for two thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine years without interruption, could be a thing of ſmall importance to him, or eaſily complied with: that, beſides, it was matter of aſtoniſhment to him, that the king of France ſhould ſo much concern himſelf in an affair which the Deity himſelf, whom it immediately concerned, left entirely to human diſcretion: that the true God, who created heaven and earth, and beſtowed on mankind ſuch different natures and inclinations, could alſo, if he had pleaſed, inſpired them with the ſame ſentiments for that religion, which they ought to follow, and for that worſhip which was moſt accceptable to him, and have made all nations live and die in the ſame laws: that ſince order among men, and unity in religion, depend abſolutely on divine Providence, who could as eaſily introduce it into the world as the diverſity of ſects, which at all times have prevailed, ought not we to think that the true God takes as much pleaſure to be honoured by different worſhips and ceremonies, as to be glorified by a prodigious number of different creatures, who praiſe him every one in his own way? Would that beauty and variety which we admire in the order

order of nature, be leſs admirable in the order of ſupernatural things, or leſs becoming the wiſdom of God?

"Since we know (continued he) that God is the abſolute maſter of the world, and that we are perſuaded nothing comes to paſs contrary to his will, I wholly reſign my perſon and dominions into the arms of the divine mercy and providence, and with all my heart beſeech his eternal wiſdom to diſpoſe thereof according to his good will and pleaſure [e]."

The Jeſuits ſtill perſevere in hope.

Notwithſtanding this declaration, the miſſioners did not reſign all hopes of converting Chaw Naraya. Theſe hopes were founded on the great privileges which were promiſed to thoſe who ſhould embrace the Chriſtian religion. They were farther encouraged in their hopes by obſerving, that the king not only deſired to keep up a friendſhip with France, but even that twelve Jeſuits ſhould be ſent over, promiſing to build them churches, and allow them the liberty of propagating their religion in his dominions: but their chief dependence, doubtleſs, was upon lord Faulkon, who, by his poſt of prime miniſter, and the great influence he had over the king, was in a ſituation to ſerve them effectually [f].

Faulkon's origin.

Conſtantine Faulkon was a Grecian by birth, born in the iſland of Cephalonia. His father was a noble Venetian, the ſon of the governor of the iſland; and his mother ſprung from one of the moſt ancient families of the country; but his parents having reduced their eſtate to a low condition, their ſon Conſtantine, when but twelve years of age, reſolved to ſeek his fortune in foreign countries. Accordingly, about the year 1660, he ſhipped him aboard an Engliſh veſſel returning to England. Here his wit, humour, and agreeable behaviour, made him known to ſome lords at court; but finding little hopes of advancing his fortune by that courſe of life [g], he applied himſelf to the more ſubſtantial affairs of trade. After a ſtay of ſome few years in England, during which time he became a Proteſtant, he determined to paſs into India, and arriving at Siam, put himſelf into the ſervice of Mr. White, a conſiderable Eaſt India merchant. In this gentleman's family he lived for ſome years, and continued his factor when Mr. White returned for London. By this employment he acquired ſome money, and then, quitting the Engliſh ſervice, ſet up for himſelf. The firſt ſtep he

[e] Tachard, ubi ſupra, p. 218, & ſeqq. [f] Choiſy, p. 448. 453. 461, & ſeq. [g] Tachard, ubi ſupra, p. 134, & ſeq.

took was to buy a ship, and put to sea; but he had the misfortune to be twice cast away in the mouth of the river of Siam.

His adventures in Siam.

Putting to sea once more, he was shipwrecked the third time, and much more unfortunately, on the coast of Malabâr. There he was in danger of perishing; and could not save, of all his substance, above two thousand crowns. In this miserable condition, being oppressed with grief and weariness, he laid himself down on the shore, and falling asleep, saw a person full of majesty, who with a smiling countenance, most obligingly said to him, "Return, return, from whence you came." These words made such an impression upon him, that he could not sleep the rest of the night, his thoughts being taken up with contriving how to return to Siam. Next day, whilst he walked by the sea-side, meditating on the same subject, he saw a man coming towards him exceedingly wet, with a most dejected aspect. It proved to be an ambassador from the king of Siam, who, in his return from Persia, had been cast away on the same coast, without saving any thing but his life. As both spoke the Siamese language, they soon became acquainted with each other's adventures. The ambassador having thus discovered himself, and told what extreme necessity he was reduced to, Mr. Faulkon, condoling his misfortune, offered to carry him to Siam. To accomplish this design, with the money he had saved he bought a small bark, and provision for the passage. This generous behaviour so charmed the ambassador, that he related it to the Pra Klang, or Barkalong, then chief minister, who expressed a desire to know a man of such a generous character.

Introduced at court.

The minister sent for Mr. Faulkon, and, on discoursing with him, liked him so well, that he resolved to keep him about himself, in which station he soon gained the esteem and confidence of his master. This chief minister was a man of parts, and well versed in business; but as he loved his ease, he was glad to meet with a person so capable to relieve him: he often spoke of him to the king, and his majesty soon found reason to take notice of him; for being disposed to send ambassadors to some foreign prince, as he loved magnificence, he was willing to spare no expence; but the Moors, or Mohammedans, whom he employed on those occasions, demanded such an immense sum to support the embassy, that he complained of their exorbitance to the Pra Klang. The minister advised with Mr. Faulkon, who said, if the king would

honour

honour him with that commiſſion, he would undertake to provide every thing for leſs money than what was offered the Moors, and yet prepare much finer preſents than they had inſerted in their inventory. The king being informed of this offer, ſent for Faulkon, and gave him orders for the purpoſe; which truſt he executed ſo much to his majeſty's ſatisfaction, that from thenceforth he conceived a great opinion of his abilities. The Moors, mortified to find their exorbitant demands rejected, thought to make themſelves amends by a petition to the king, for payment of what he owed them, in which they brought him in their debtor to the amount of a conſiderable ſum: but the account being put into Faulkon's hands to examine it, he found that, inſtead of the king's being indebted to them, they owed his majeſty above ſixty thouſand crowns.

Made prime miniſter.

The Pra Klang dying in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, the king would have appointed Faulkon in his place, but he declined the office, as well as that of Chakri, to avoid the envy of the great men [h]: nor would he ever accept of any place, though every thing paſſed through his hands, and nothing was done without him; ſo that he was, in effect, prime miniſter, a circumſtance which rendered him the object of envy as much, perhaps, as if he had held the poſt to which it was then annexed; for the malay, who ſucceeded the deceaſed pra klang, looking on him with a malicious eye, made uſe of Mr. Bacon, an Engliſhman, to create an ill impreſſion of him, and render him ſuſpected by the king; but Chaw Naraya perceiving that miniſter's malice, deprived him of his office, and cauſed him to be baſtinadoed to death [i].

We know not what it was which Mr. Bacon laid to this miniſter's charge; and the affair of captain Hamilton, will always make us judge with caution of accuſations laid by the agents of intereſted companies. Perhaps his turning Papiſt, after he left their ſervice, might induce the Engliſh to think that he would ſupport the Portugueſe, or French intereſt againſt theirs; although we are told he took all occaſions to do our nation ſervice.

His great abilities.

However that be, he was certainly a perſon of more than ordinary abilities; admired for his affability, dexterity in buſineſs, and eloquence. Tachard ſays, he was much ſurpriſed, conſidering lord Conſtance was a man of

[h] Tachard, p. 135, & ſeq.

[i] Chaumont's Embaſſy to Siam, p. 79, & ſeq.

no ſtudy, at the reply which he made the king, who aſked him what he thought the ambaſſador would ſay to the reaſons contained in his anſwer to the memorial? as the moſt conſummate divine would have been hard put to it to make a better [k].

Siam embaſſy to France.

Mr. Chaumont left Siam in the year 1685, accompanied by the Siam ambaſſadors, and Tachard the Jeſuit, one of the ſix deſtined for China, who was ſent back to Europe to ſolicit the twelve miſſioners, and other affairs. The Siam ambaſſadors were three in number, all perſons of the firſt quality. They were attended by twelve officers of the court, and carried very rich preſents to the king of France, in return for thoſe which had been ſent to their maſter [l]: but the chief end of their embaſſy ſeems to have been to ſolicit engineers to fortify ſome of the king of Siam's moſt conſiderable towns, and a certain number of forces to garriſon them. In the mean time Mr. Le Mare, an engineer, was left behind, at the king's requeſt; and likewiſe the chevalier De Fourbin, a well experienced officer, who was ſoon after poſted at Bankok, with ſome troops under his command, which proved of ſervice two years after in ſuppreſſing the Makaſſars [m]; of whoſe revolt we are next to treat.

Revolt of the Makaſſars. Plot to kill the King; its Diſcovery. Intrepid Behaviour of a Makaſſar. Obſtinacy of their Prince. Slain with all his People.

Revolt of the Makaſſars.

THIS revolt happened in the year 1687, and might have had as fatal effects as that of the Japaneſe in a former reign, if it had not been timely prevented by the vigilance of the king, and diligence of his firſt miniſter. After the Dutch had vanquiſhed the king of Makaſſar, a kingdom ſituated in the iſland of Selebes, or Celebes, about the year 1664, one of that monarch's ſons, with many of the natives, retired to Siam, where the king generouſly received him, aſſigning him land two cannon-ſhot diſtance from the capital, for his followers to build houſes on for their habitation; and this was called the camp of the Makaſſars, according to the cuſtom of that country. This camp is ſituated partly on the great river Menâm, and partly on another called Kachon, which falls into it at

[k] Tachard, ubi ſupra, p. 219. 227. & 509. [l] Choiſy, p. 362. 401. [m] Chaumont, p. 61. Tachard's Firſt Voy. p. 234. Second Voy. p. 93.

that

that place. It was alotted them, that they might be next to the Malayans, who, being alſo Mohammedans, might be ready to aſſiſt them, and accommodate them with their moſques.

About five years before this period, a plot was laid for taking away the life of Chaw Naraya, and placing the younger of his two brothers on the throne. The treaſon having been happily diſcovered, his majeſty generouſly pardoned not only his brother, but alſo the prince of Makaſſar, who was concerned in the conſpiracy, and all his accomplices. This act of grace ought to have laid an eternal obligation of gratitude on the fugitive prince: but inſtead of repenting of his former crime, about April, 1687, he entered into a new plot, at the ſolicitation of the princes of Champa, who were likewiſe refugees at the court of Siam. Their intention was to have placed on the throne the ſame brother of the king, and then oblige him either to turn Mohammedan, or put him to death: and in caſe he had ſo far complied, they farther intended to depoſe him, that one of themſelves might aſcend the throne by election [n].

Plot to kill the king by the Champa princes.

Theſe princes of Champa were three brothers, ſons of the late king of that country, who, on their eldeſt brother's acceſſion to the crown, fled hither for fear of him. One of the three was made an officer of the king of Siam's houſhold, and had no ſhare in the conſpiracy which was ſet on foot by the younger of the two others, who lived like private perſons. The young prince having communicated his deſign to a Malayan captain, born alſo in Champa, a man of parts and learning, as well as courage, this officer entered into his meaſures, and, with the aſſiſtance of one of their prieſts, conducted the whole affair. He began by giving out in the camps of the Malayans and Makaſſars, that he had ſeen in the heavens a ſign which he had often ſeen before, and was every time attended with ſome extraordinary event, which affected thoſe of the Mohammedan religion. He adviſed them, therefore, to pray to their prophet, that it might turn out to their benefit; and in the mean time to be upon their guard. After he had thus filled them with terrible apprehenſions, he diſcloſed his deſign to each of them by degrees, as he found they gave into it; ſo that in leſs than three months he enticed them all into the ſnare, excepting three hundred Malayans. Then he aſſembled the

[n] Tachard's Sec. Voy. p. 89, & ſeq.

three

three chiefs, to know what was to be done with those who were in the opposition; and it was resolved, when the plot was ripe for execution, to assemble the three hundred Malayans with the rest, flattering themselves that they would not stand out, when they saw their countrymen so readily embrace the party of the conspirators. Their design was also to set all the prisons open, and free the galley-slaves, in order to augment their forces with such desperate recruits; and their first exploit was to seize the palace, and give the plunder of it to their followers.

Timely discovered. The time approaching for putting this plot in execution, which was the 15th of August, at eleven o'clock at night, the two princes of Champa wrote to their brother, who was at court, acquainting him with what was intended, and advising him to make his escape as fast as he could. At eight in the evening the letter was delivered to the prince, who, suspecting something more than ordinary, from the haste with which the messenger made off, carried it unopened to lord Faulkon, who having read the contents of it, ran with it to the king. His Siamese majesty, without seeming concerned, sent three thousand of his guards to defend the palace of Siam, and dispatched the chevalier De Fourbin to Bankok, to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels. The rest of his guards, to the number of five thousand, were posted in the palace; and other troops so disposed as to defend the avenues and walls of the city [b].

The rebels disperse. The hour being come, the conspirators met in a long tongue of land which separates the two rivers, opposite to the camp of the Makassars; but as soon as the three hundred Malayans understood their prince's design, they refused to obey him, declaring their abhorrence of such an act of ingratitude to the king their benefactor. This resolute answer having wrought upon others, who had their scruples before, they began to disperse; a circumstance which the priest observing, resolved to go and discover the plot to the governor of the city, that he might plead the merit of the detection. As soon as the governor received this information, he posted the few men he had in the palace in such a manner, as to let the conspirators see that the plot was discovered, and that he was on his guard. This appearance greatly alarmed the princes, who were still more surprised next morning, to see three

[b] Tachard, p. 91, & seq. Also Foubin's Mem.

thousand

thousand of the king's soldiers arrive in the palace, and all the inhabitants of the city in arms upon the ramparts.

The king's clemency.

Chaw Naraya being informed that the rebels had returned home, sent lord Faulkon to Siam to reclaim them by gentle methods, and learn all the circumstances of the conspiracy. By a promise of pardon the captain, who laid the scheme, surrendered himself to the minister, and discovered the whole affair, so far as to confess that his real view was to declare himself king, and make away with the three princes. Lord Faulkon published a general pardon to all those who should, within four days, come in and discover their accomplices. The Malayans accepted of this grace, but the Makassars stood out, resolving to perish rather than submit. Their prince was several times summoned to give an account of his conduct, but still refused, alledging, that he would never enter into the conspiracy, though much pressed; and that, if he had committed any fault, it was only in not discovering the authors of so black a design; but that he judged his quality of a prince and a friend, would excuse him for not doing the office of a spy, and betraying those who had intrusted him with a secret of such importance [c].

One of the conspirators flops at Bankok.

An answer so very improper determined the king to bring him to reason by force, which resolution, instead of intimidating the Makassars, only rouzed their courage; and an action which about the same time happened at Bankok, contributed to render them the more daring. The captain of a galley which came from the king of Makassar with a present of money and slaves to the prince his relation, seeing the ill success of the plot in which he had been himself engaged, thought it his best way to retire in time. Accordingly, he applied for a fara, or passport, and obtained it; but at the same time orders were sent (A) to the chevalier de Fourbin to stop him and his men at the passage of the chain, which was drawn across the river at Bankok. On his arrival the chevalier sent for him, to come and inform him of the number of hands on board his galley. The captain, after many excuses, sent word he could not come, unless he was followed by his men in arms; and, to take off his suspicion, it was at

[c] Tachard, p. 93, & seqq.

(A) Fourbin complains heavily of those orders, as contrived by Mr. Constance to sacrifice him, by making him fall into the hands of the Makassars.

length

length agreed, that he might enter the fortreſs with eight men, armed only with the krit: this is a kind of poignard, from twelve to eighteen inches long; the blade is flat, and about two inches broad at the handle, from whence it tapers to the point, which is very ſharp. Some of theſe blades are poiſoned, either by applying the poiſon every time it is uſed, or elſe working it in the temper of the metal [d].

His intrepid behaviour.

The captain, at landing with his attendants, took leave of the reſt, declaring, that if they demanded his krit he would run a muck, and they promiſed to follow his example and revenge his death. As ſoon as he entered the citadel, he was ordered to ſend for his men to be counted, Fourbin's deſign being to ſurround them with a company of ſoldiers, and thus oblige them to deliver up their arms. The captain anſwered careleſsly, that he had fifty men on board, and they might take his word for it; but as he found himſelf under a neceſſity to obey, he ſent two of his eight followers to acquaint the reſt with what was required of them. The chevalier De Fourbin took that opportunity to plant ſome pikemen and muſketeers at the entrance of the hall where the Makaſſars were. The captain ſeeing the danger he was in, diſcovered great agitation of mind, inſomuch that the ſweat fell from his face in great drops. Mean while the chevalier ſent an officer to demand his krit in the king's name. The captain made him no anſwer, but plunged the weapon into his breaſt, and laid him dead at his feet. The blow was ſo violent, that he cut through three of his ribs. Two Siameſe ſoldiers, who attempted to ſeize him, were ſerved in the ſame manner; and having killed a fourth, he ran furiouſly to force his way through the pikes; but finding that impracticable, after receiving a few wounds, he bolted, with three of his people, through a window, into a port-hole of the baſtion, on which the hall ſtood, with deſign to jump down from thence; but the leap ſeemed ſo deſperate, that it required ſome ſhot to make them take it; another volley was ſent after them in their deſcent. Some of them had ſtrength enough to riſe, and run ſtaggering upon the ſoldiers who were poſted near the ſhot, but they were ſoon diſpatched. A French captain perceiving the Makaſſar chief not quite dead, though pierced with ſeveral balls, advanced to take his krit from him; but laying hold of the ſcabbard inſtead of the handle, the almoſt expiring

Slain with others.

[d] Tachard p. 96 & ſeq. Fourbin's Mem.

man had yet strength enough to draw it, and rip up his belly.

Fourbin finding by this phrensy what the rest of the Makassars, who were on their way to the fortress, might do, was obliged to alter his measures. Drawing out his garrison of three or four hundred men, he posted them in such a manner that the enemy must have been surrounded as they advanced. These desperadoes hearing the noise of the small arms, and being in pain for their captain, sent to demand him. The chevalier gave them good words to gain time to make his preparations. On the other hand, the Makassars put themselves in a posture of defence, rolling the cloth, which covers their thighs, about their arms, to serve as a shield. When every thing was ready for the attack, an English captain advanced with some soldiers, sending the French commander word, that he would bring all that rabble bound neck and heels before him. The Makassars thinking this a proper time to fall on, ran to meet them; and after they had lost a few of their party, with the fire-arms or pikes, cut him in pieces with all his followers. Some were found pierced with no fewer than a dozen stabs of the krit. The remainder of the garrison were so terrified at this first charge, that they would not wait a second, but fled in such disorder, that Fourbin, who endeavoured in vain to rally them, escaped with great difficulty [e].

The rest revenge them.

Had the Makassars taken advantage of this panic, they might easily have become masters of the fortress; but they contented themselves with killing all who came in their way, without distinction of age or sex, and then fled to the woods. There they remained ten or twelve days, and, though weakened with hunger and other miseries, yet they were strong enough to kill five or six more of those who went to exterminate them. A youth, not above ten or twelve years old, who, with some others, had got into a temple, made two sallies with the krit in his hand, and killed a man each time. Some were taken still alive, though mortally wounded; one of whom, when just expiring, cried out, "Alas! I have killed no more than six; if they will suffer me only to kill seven, I shall die contented." Others desired to be dispatched quickly out of the way, that they might go find their companions again, whom they were not willing to survive.

Are all destroyed.

[e] Tachard, p. 99, & seqq. Fourbin's Mem.

While

Makaſſar prince untractable.

While matters took this turn at Bankok, the king of Siam, unwilling to come to extremities with the Makaſſar prince, ſent Okpra Shula, one of the chief lords of his court, to bring him to a ſenſe of his duty. The prince owned that he was extremely culpable, and deſired the okpra to intercede for him; but could not be prevailed on to go in perſon and aſk his majeſty's pardon, notwithſtanding the grounds which he had to expect it, from the lenity which had been ſhewn to others no leſs guilty than himſelf. The king being determined to puniſh his obſtinacy, or force him to ſubmit, detached five thouſand four hundred of his guards, under the command of the lord Faulkon, prime miniſter, with orders to reduce him by force [p].

Preparations to attack him.

Lord Faulkon ſet out from Siam in a balon, or bark, accompanied by captain Yudal, commander of an Engliſh ſhip of war then at the bar of Siam, ſeveral other Engliſhmen who were in the ſervice of the king of Siam, and a miſſionary. When he arrived at the point of the horſeſhoe, where the other balons and gallies were aſſembled, facing the camp of the Malayans, he ſent all the Engliſh, excepting captain Yudal, on board two of the king's veſſels, which lay half a league below the enemy's camp or habitation.

The diſpoſition being made, and the ſignal given for the attack, Mahamontri, captain-general of the guards, advanced with a few men, and falling into an ambuſcade, was ſlain.

Mr. Cotre, or Coats, an Engliſhman, captain of a veſſel belonging to the king of Siam, attacked the Makaſſars on the ſide of the great river, at the extremity of the point of their camp. By throwing fire-balls among their houſes, and a continual diſcharge of muſquetry, he obliged them to retire to the upper part of their camp; then he landed with ten or twelve Engliſhmen and a French officer; but ſeeing the enemy running towards them, and their own men fly at their approach, they threw themſelves into the river to get off. The French officer eſcaped by ſwimming; but the Engliſh captain was ſhot in the head, and died of the wound.

The Makaſſars remove.

After this blow, the Makaſſars abandoned their camp, which was already half-burned, and retreated towards the upper part of the rivulet, with deſign to paſs on to the

[p] Tachard, p. 102, & ſeq.

camp

camp of the Portugueſe, and there diſcharge their fury on the Chriſtians. Their drift being perceived by lord Faulkon, he advanced in his balon, followed by fifteen others; in one of which was Mr. Veret, chief of the French factory, with all thoſe of his nation, whom he brought from Siam, in order to hinder the enemy from paſſing the river half a league above the camp. As ſoon as he overtook them, he ordered the Siameſe to land, and at the ſame time went aſhore himſelf, followed by two Engliſhmen, two Siameſe, and a Japaneſe ſoldier. The Siameſe having paſſed through a long hedge of bambû trees, two hundred and fifty paces from the river, and entering into the plain where the enemy were, killed two or three of them, with the loſs of one or two of their company. The Makaſſars then divided themſelves into two parties, returning to the bambûs with a deſign to ſurround the Siameſe; and having taken their opium, ran headlong to attack the royaliſts. The miniſter prepared himſelf to receive them, though ſixty in number; but perceiving thirty or forty others ready to fall on his rear, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, in which five of the twelve who accompanied him were ſlain; four Frenchmen, and captain Yudal were killed on the ſpot.

Lord Faulkon retires.

Lord Faulkon, not at all diſcouraged by this check [p], detached Okpra Jumbarat with four hundred men, to advance beyond the place where the enemy then were, with orders to fight them, if they offered to paſs that way; and at the ſame time made a deſcent himſelf near the brook, at the head of three thouſand men, among whom were all the French and Engliſh, marching towards the revolters up to the middle in water. Perceiving thoſe deſperadoes, after a vigorous attack on the four hundred men, retiring for ſhelter to the houſes and bambûs which were on the brook-ſides, he detached eight hundred muſketeers, who drove them out of that retreat by a continual fire. He ſent the remaining two thouſand two hundred men to join the four hundred, and cauſed the balons to advance, in order to hinder the enemy from paſſing the rivulet. The Makaſſars, ſeeing themſelves attacked thus on all ſides, were ſtruck with a panic, and began to ſeparate; the greater part of them retired into the houſes, two or three in each; others hid themſelves among the bambûs, and twenty-two of them took ſhelter in a moſque. Theſe places of retreat being fired by the

Renews the attack.

[p] Tachard, p. 108, & ſeq. Forbin's Memoirs.

Siamese, the revolters sallied out, making a muck, that is, rushing upon the thickest of the troops, with the lance or sword in hand, and fighting till they are slain.

The revolters slain with their prince.

Not one of all these Makassars escaped. The prince, who was wounded in the left shoulder by a musket bullet, ran with his lance directly towards lord Faulkon, who stood upon his defence with a weapon of the same kind. The prince stopped, and making a feint, as if he intended to dart it at the minister, turned upon an English captain, who was on the left; but a Frenchman, who was near lord Faulkon, making a shot at him in the same instant, he dropped down dead: at length all the Makassars were either killed or taken. They who had fled to the Mohammedan temple surrendered without fighting; besides, these thirty-three were taken, and all ran through the body. A son of the unhappy prince, about twelve years of age, came and surrendered himself. Lord Faulkon ordered a Christian of Constantinople, then in the king of Siam's service, to take care of him. He was afterwards sent with one of his brothers into France [q].

Their arms.

The bodies of no more than forty Makassars were found, the rest perished in the river; most of them had breast-plates, made of flat pieces of iron, fastened by the ends one over the other, so that they could easily move in in them: none of them had fire-arms, nor do they know well how to use them. What renders them so formidable through the East, is that fury and contempt of danger which opium inspires them with; but still more that wonderful dexterity which they have in throwing darts and lances, as well as in using the sabre and krit. Some had long trunks, out of which they blew poisoned fish-bones fixed in shafts, with which some Siamese being wounded died in three hours. There were likewise found on the dead certain scrolls or billets, which, as charms, contributed to render them more daring. The Siamese lost no more than seventeen men, reckoning seven Europeans among the number, in all this action, which lasted from half an hour after four in the morning till four in the afternoon. Lord Faulkon, having ordered the heads of the slain to be cut off, and exposed in their camp, departed to give an account of what had passed to his majesty; who commanded him to thank the French and English for the share they had in this expedition.

[q] Tachard, p. 111, & seq.

Among

Among those taken alive there were four Makassars of the king's guards, who deserted the day on which the conspiracy broke out; for which the king resolved to punish them in an exemplary manner. The executioner beat them terribly with sticks; ran iron pins under their nails; broke all the joints of their fingers; burnt the flesh off their arms, and squeezed their temples between two boards: all this they bore with inexpressible resolution. What is more extraordinary, they had the constancy to refuse being made converts by the Jesuits; who imagined, that people, weakened by such terrible suffering, would more easily have complied with their proposal. At seven in the morning, they were fastened naked to the ground, and a tiger let loose on them; but the beast only smelled to them one after the other, and then attempted to get away by leaping over the inclosure, which was fifteen feet high. At noon, the executioners being impatient, drew off the tiger, and fastened them standing to thick posts, as if this posture was more proper than the former to irritate the animal; he slew three of them before night, and the fourth before morning. They were never once heard to complain, or even so much as to fetch a sigh. One of them saw the tiger eat his foot, without offering to draw it away; another, without making the least complaint, felt him breaking all the bones of his back; the third, suffered the animal to lick the blood which fell from his face, without turning away his eyes, and without shrinking; only one of them went round his post, to avoid the sight and onset of that furious creature; but he died, at last, with great resolution [z].

Their surprising resolution.

Sad instances of it.

Embassy of Messr. Loubiere and Ceberet. The Siamese murmur at the French Forces and Missioners. Petracha's Conspiracy. Lord Faulkon imprisoned, and the French arrested. Prince Totso and Lord Faulkon executed. The King's Brothers murdered. The French ignominiously treated, and their General trepanned to Court. Escapes by his Address, and is besieged in Bankok. Chaw Naraya dies; his Character and Family.

THE very same day, on which the revolt of the Makassars was suppressed, four ships arrived at the bar of Siam from France, bringing with them, besides the Siam ambassadors who had been sent thither, two envoys from

Second embassy from France.

[z] Tachard, p. 144, & seqq.

Lewis XIV. namely, Meſſ. Loubiere and Ceberet, with a letter to the king of Siam; the twelve Jeſuits, and a body of French ſoldiers, under the command of Mr. De Farges as general, and Mr. Bruan, lieutenant-general.

Treaty concluded.

In a day or two after their arrival, a treaty was drawn up between P. Tachard and lord Faulkon; which, as that Jeſuit expreſſes it, was very favourable to religion and the intereſts of France. At their firſt meeting they went both together into a bark, where they remained by themſelves the reſt of the day, and all the night following [a]. As no other perſon was preſent, we know nothing of what paſſed in this long private conference: however, we may preſume ſomething was done towards farthering thoſe very important deſigns which we are told were on foot between the kings of France and Siam, for the good of religion and trade [b].

Occaſion thereof.

Count Forbin informs us, that lord Conſtance having incurred the hatred of the whole Siameſe nation, the mandarins and other grandees conſpired ſecretly againſt the new miniſter. But Conſtance was before-hand with them, and had ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of Chaw Naraya, that three hundred of thoſe who would have ruined him, loſt their lives on that occaſion. After this triumph, he knew ſo well how to make uſe of his good fortune, and the foible of his maſter, that he amaſſed immenſe wealth; partly by extortions, and partly by commerce, the whole of which he monopolized. So many oppreſſions, which yet he exerciſed under the pretence of public good, had ſet the whole kingdom againſt him: however all ſtood quiet, waiting for a revolution, which, from the king's age and bad ſtate of health, they judged not to be far off.

Conſtance diſguſts the Siameſe.

Conſtance was not ignorant of the odium he had incurred; and knew how little he had to reckon on the life of the king, as well as what he had to fear from a revolution. He plainly ſaw that nothing could ſecure him from the reſentment of the Siameſe, but the protection of ſome foreign power eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and therefore began his ſcheme by propoſing to the king the introduction of ſtrangers into his ſtate, to whom he was to intruſt the care of ſome principal places. He ſo dexterouſly ſet forth the advantages which would ariſe from an alliance with foreigners, that Chaw Naraya blindly gave into every thing which the miniſter recommended. The difficulty was to

Contrives to ſecure himſelf by foreign aſſiſtance.

[a] Tachard p. 182, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 9.

determine

determine on the choice of a prince to be addreſſed on this occaſion. Conſtance durſt not truſt any of the neighbouring potentates, whoſe miniſters, inconſtant like themſelves, might ſacrifice him to the reſentment of the mandarins; his view therefore was turned towards the Europeans, yet without all the encouragement which he might have propoſed from that quarter. He ſaw that it would be in vain for him to apply to either the Engliſh or Dutch, becauſe the trade of Siam was not conſiderable enough to allure them to ſettle there: for the ſame reaſon he could not addreſs himſelf to the Spaniards or Portugueſe. He had therefore no other courſe to take but to apply himſelf to the French, whom he judged moſt eaſily to be impoſed on. With this view he perſuaded the king to ſeek the alliance of Lewis XIV. by ambaſſadors, who were inſtructed particularly to inſinuate, that their maſter had an inclination to become a Chriſtian; although, in fact, nothing was farther from his thoughts [c].

The king of France, in the belief that religion obliged him to concur towards ſo pious a work, ſent, in his turn, ambaſſadors to Siam; while Conſtance, perceiving his project to ſucceed in part ſo well, began to contrive how to carry the whole into execution according to his own views. He firſt diſcloſed his intentions to Mr. Chaumont, acquainting him, that the Dutch, with a deſign to enlarge their commerce, had for a long time deſired a ſettlement at Siam, which yet the king would never liſten to, leſt they ſhould make themſelves maſters of his dominions; but that, if the king of France, on whoſe integrity he could more confidently rely, would enter into a treaty with his Siameſe majeſty, he would undertake to put into his hands the fortreſs of Bankok; a place of importance in the kingdom, and, as it were, the key of it; on condition, however, that he ſhould ſend thither troops, engineers, and all the money neceſſary to begin a ſettlement.

Impoſes on the French.

Mr. Chaumont and the abbé Choiſy, to whom this affair was communicated, not judging it practicable, declined taking the management of it upon them: but P. Tachard, blinded with the advantages which he imagined would accrue to the king of France from ſuch an alliance, readily embraced it. He was drawn into this deluſion by the artifices of Conſtance, who, concealing all his own private views under an appearance of zeal, rated to extravagance the benefits which would flow from ſuch an union, as well

[c] Count Forbin's Memoirs.

to Louis XIV. as to the Christian religion; assuring him that, one time or other, the king of Siam would declare himself a proselyte to Christianity; and insinuating the liberty which the missioners might propose in the exercise of their ministry, under the protection of a French garrison at Bankok. Nor was he less flattered by the promises of Constance to make a considerable settlement in behalf of the society of Jesus, for whom he was to build a college and an observatory at Louvo. In a word, this Jesuit, seeing nothing in the scheme but what appeared very advantageous for the king, for religion, and for his society, undertook to negotiate the affair without hesitation; he even promised to bring it to bear, provided P. La Chaize would embark in it. From this time the whole secret of the embassy rested in P. Tachard, who was resolved to return into France with the Siamese ambassadors [d].

Poverty of Siam.

Count Forbin had no opinion at all of this project, which he foresaw would involve his native country in a vast expence, and, after all, turn to no account. He had scarce entered the river of Siam, before he perceived how much Europe had been abused, by the brilliant relations which had been published there of the riches and splendor of that country. On his first landing at the bar he observed three or four little houses, built with reeds, and covered with palm-tree leaves, in which he was told, the governor of the bar resided. He went into one, and found three or four Siamese sitting on the ground, cross-legged, without slippers, stockings, caps, or any thing on their bodies but a plain piece of cloth to cover them; and one of these was the governor: nor was the house better equipped then the people. This first appearance diminished much the ideas which he had formed of Siam. He was still more surprised, when on asking for something to eat, the governor presented him with some rice, and told him, there was nothing else to be had.

Tachard censured.

At Bankok he found not much better fare, nor was there either herbs, fruits, or any other refreshments to be purchased. Those handsome houses, magnificently furnished, which, in the language of Tachard, were built at certain distances on the river-side for lodging the ambassador and his train, were nothing but cabins of reeds, hung with coarse cloth painted. They were likewise moveable, so that as soon as the ambassador and his people left them, they were conveyed to the next

[d] Forbin's Memoirs.

stage,

ſtage, or landing-place; and thus the ſame lodging ſerved all the way to the capital city; of which he gives but a very mean picture. He ridicules thoſe who have publiſhed relations, for ſpeaking of a pretended city of Siam, capital of the kingdom, which they repreſent as large and flouriſhing as Paris; whereas Siam has no other capital but Odia, or Judia; and that it is ſcarce to be compared to a city of France of the fourth rank. The ambaſſador's houſe, though the beſt in the town, was little and ill-built, though of brick, all the reſt of the place, which is very naſty, being compoſed of wood or canes, excepting one ſtreet, where the Mohammedans and Chineſe dwell, of about one hundred brick houſes, but ſmall, and no more than a ſingle ſtory high. The temples are alſo of brick; as for the king's palace, it is very large, but without either proportion or taſte [e].

The miniſter's arts to diſplay grandeur.

This is the account that Forbin gives in general of the country and metropolis, to which every thing elſe is ſuitable. But Conſtance, to dazzle the eyes of the French, employed all his arts to give them a grand idea of the kingdom. He made them continual feaſts, ſerved up with all the pomp imaginable: he diſplayed to their view the riches of the royal treaſure, which were indeed worthy of a great monarch. But he did not tell them that it was the work of a long ſucceſſion of kings, who are eſteemed illuſtrious only in proportion as they augment it; and never decreaſe it, how urgent ſoever the occaſion may be. He carried them likewiſe to the principal temples of the city, whoſe ſtatues, he would perſuade them, were of maſſy gold, whereas they were nothing but plaſter, very artfully gilded. There was one fifteen or ſixteen feet high, which Tachard and Choiſy took to be ſolid gold, and have reported it as ſuch in their voyages; but, ſoon after their departure for France, the chapel falling, broke the ſtatue, and diſcovered the impoſture of Conſtance; on which occaſion Forbin could not forbear cenſuring him.

In ſhort, that miniſter's earneſtneſs to give the French an high opinion of the wealth of Siam, was ſeen in nothing more than the preſents deſtined for the king and court of France; to compoſe which, he almoſt exhauſted the kingdom, ſending even to China and Japan for the moſt rare and curious manufactures: nay, that nothing might be wanting to promote his deſign, the common

[e] Forbin's Memoirs.

sailors had bounty-money given them. It was thus that the ambassador Chaumont and the French were imposed on by this artful minister. However, he knew that Forbin had already seen too much to be deceived; and, lest he should discover all, in case he returned to France with the ambassador, and so blast his project, he therefore urged the king, who had taken a fancy to the count, to require the ambassador to leave him behind. Considerable offers were made to dispose him to comply: but Forbin was so well acquainted with the poverty of the country, that nothing could have prevaild on him to stay, had not Mr. Chaumont ordered him to continue there on the behalf of the king of France. He was immediately created high admiral, general of the king's armies, and governor of Bankok [f].

Confesseth its poverty.

But the more opportunities he had of being acquainted with the affairs of the country, the more he was convinced of the miserable state of things, and dissatisfied with his own condition. After the ambassadors were gone, he went to Louvo with Constance, where he was introduced to the palace for the first time. The situation in which he found the mandarins surprised him; they were all sitting in a ring on osier mats, with a single lamp, which lighted the whole court; and when any of them chose either to read or write, he drew a piece of wax-candle out of his pocket, and, lighting it at the lamp, stuck it on a piece of wood; which, turning on a pivot, served them for a candlestick. On asking Constance, if all the grandeur of these mandarins consisted in what he saw? the minister said, yes; and, taking him aside, told him, "The country was really poor, but your fortune shall not suffer on that score, I will take care of it." Then let Forbin into all his designs, as have been related. This officer went daily to the palace for two months, without seeing the king more than once; afterwards he saw him oftener; and, on a time, being asked by his Siamese majesty, if he was satisfied to stay at his court, he confesses that he told a great falshood by answering in the affirmative.

Abject state of the grandees.

He was shocked particularly at the rigour with which the smallest faults were punished; as that of cutting open the mouth from ear to ear, for not speaking enough; or sewing it up, for speaking too much; cutting off the buttocks, burning the arms with red-hot irons, and running

[f] Forbin's Memoirs.

cane

cane splinters under the nails to the very roots; a punishment which scarce any escape, at least once in their lives. Forbin, surprised to see the great mandarins exposed to such kinds of treatment, asked Constance, if he had the like to fear from the laws? That minister answered, No: but, says our author, he lied; for he was bastonadoed himself under the administration of his predecessor, as I understood afterwards. In short, the count thought he had no great reason to be pleased with the provision made for him, as not suitable to the high posts with which he was invested. The king ordered a very little house to be given him, with thirty-six slaves to wait on him, and two elephants. The whole subsistence of his family cost him but five pence a day; so temperate are the men, and so cheap provisions: he had his own table with Constance. The furniture of his house was of no great value; to which were added twelve silver plates, and two great cups of the same metal, but all very thin; four dozen of cotton napkins, and two candles of yellow wax a-day. "This, says he, was all the equipage of monsieur the high admiral and general of the king's armies[g]." Having related these particulars, so necessary for understanding the state of Siam, the occasion of the French embassies, and cause of the revolution which followed, we proceed in our history.

Their mean appointments.

The French ambassadors having discharged their commission, Mr. Loubiere had his audience of leave on the 22d of December; at which time the king, who had been for some time sick, was much altered in his countenance. That ambassador departed from Siam on the 4th of January, 1688; with him went three Siamese officers of state as envoys, who carried their king's letter to Lewis XIV; and P. Tachard, with the character of Chaw Naraya's envoy extraordinary to the king of France and the pope. He had orders from the king of Siam to carry with him twelve Siamese youths, to learn the French language; but was so hurried away that he could take with him no more than five. After they were gone, the twelve Jesuits performed their functions of teaching their religion, and the mathematical sciences, in the colleges erected for them in the two royal cities of Siam and Louvo[h].

Ambassadors return.

The major part of the troops were posted at Bankok, within the mouth of the river Siam, under general De

[g] Forbin's Memoirs. [h] Tachard, p. 279. 298.

Farges;

Farges; and the remainder were sent to keep garrison at Merghi, a port on the western coast of Siam, in the bay of Bengâl, at the mouth of the river which washes Tenasserim, under the command of Mr. Bruan, his lieutenant-general.

The people uneasy at the court-measures.

The introduction of foreign troops and foreign priests into the kingdom, occasioned various conjectures, and induced the people to suspect that the king had a design to make some considerable change in the laws, as well as religion of the country. The odium on this occasion fell chiefly on lord Faulkon, as the person who, influenced by these foreign priests, had given Chaw Naraya this bad advice.

The missioners themselves thought he was their tool: for although that nobleman continued a protestant for a considerable time after he was settled in Siam, yet falling at length into the hands of the fathers Thomas and Maldonat, they prevailed on him to renounce the church of England, and embrace his former religion, which was that of Rome [j].

Some say, not only that he had recourse to the French to secure his power, but even that he had views of usurping the crown [k]. But this is not likely; yet it is certain however, that the measures which he advised the king to take, gave much discontent, and at least furnished a pretence for those suspicions, which soon after produced an extraordinary revolution in the kingdom.

The intrigue was carried on at court, under the plausible pretence of freeing the gulf of Siam from the oppressive yoke of the Dutch; who, being possessed of the strong fortress of Malakka, situated at the entrance of the streights leading into it, had imposed a toll and duty on all the Indian ships which traded or past into that bay. However, the Siamese were of opinion, that the true design was, first to bring the kingdom under the French power, and then to change the established religion of the country; towards the attainment of which two ends lord Faulkon had prevailed on the king to appoint for his heir and successor, in prejudice to his two brothers, his adopted son Mompi Totso, whom the Jesuits were said to have converted to the Romish faith. It was under this successor that the conspiracy was to have taken effect. The French were already in possession of Bankok and Merghi, the two chief places which open a passage into the king-

[j] Tachard, vol. i. p. 138, & seq. [k] Kæmpf. Hist. Jap. p. 19.

dom

dom of Siam; they were also allowed to have a command in the guards about the king's person.

The French forces and the missionaries.

These steps were said to be taken for the security both of the king and his kingdom. It is true, the French were better able to fortify and defend the frontier places than the natives, who are not at all skilled in that necessary art; they were likewise more capable of serving the king on all military occasions: but the Siamese officers of state and great men considered these proceedings in the worst light imaginable; so that it was with greatest impatience and resentment that they suffered them to be carried on. They concluded, that these great French squadrons, filled with such numbers of men, and so plentifully provided with warlike stores, aimed at something more than securing the commerce of the French company of merchants; all whose stock, says our author, was not of importance enough to occasion the expence of fitting out one of those fleets. Neither could they believe that those exceeding rich presents, which arrived so frequently from France, were sent for no other end than to keep up a strict friendship between the two kings [l].

As for what concerns the Jesuit missioners, they were beheld with an evil eye by the Siamese, who could not, without indignation, hear their specious discourses, wherein they endeavoured to persuade them, that all the fatigues and dangers which they had encountered, in coming to live among them, proceeded solely from the strong desire they had of doing them good: whereas, it was obvious to every body, that their true design in teaching physic, surgery astronomy, and mathematics, was to have the better opportunity of making converts of those who applied to them to learn the sciences. They called to mind likewise, that these were the methods which the same set of men had practised in Japan, and what a formidable party they at length made in that empire, by virtue of their conversions. These were the reflexions which the grandees of Siam made on this occasion: as they judged the constitution both in church and state to be in danger, by the measures which were pursued at court, they resolved to obstruct them; but they were unwilling to attempt any thing that way during the life of Chaw Naraya [m].

[l] Full and true Relation, of the wonderful Revolution, that happened lately in the Kingdom of Siam, &c. printed at London 1690.

[m] Ibid. p. 5.

As

Pitrachas' conspiracy.

As soon as the king fell ill, Pecherachas, or Pitrachas, who had taken his measures long before-hand to establish himself, in case of accidents, concealing his designs under pretence of the good of the state, began to insinuate to the people, that the French were come into their country with no other view than to destroy the royal race, their religion, and their customs, by obliging them to submit to Pra-pye or Monpi and Constance; who would be the second person in the kingdom, in case their designs succeeded. By these artifices it was easy for him to gain all the grandees, as well as the people, on his side, and inflame them in a violent degree against the French; the rather as the princes, who were the true heirs to the crown, always considered him as a faithful subject, who acted in favour of their interests; whilst they considered Pra-pye and Constance as their most avowed enemies [n].

Farges sent for to court.

Constance, from whom these intrigues could not be hidden, notwithstanding the fair appearance which Pitrachas put on to amuse him, in February sent general Farges an order from the king, to come up to Louvo, with the greater part of his troops. He had under his command no more than two hundred men: Mr. Bruan had three of his best companies at Merghi; and, after his departure, the general was obliged to spare thirty-five choice soldiers, with two or three officers, to send on board ships which the king of Siam had sent out to cruize; besides, the small number of men which remained, diminished every day by sickness. He departed from Bankok with seventy men and five officers, under great uneasiness of mind, on account of the rest of his garrison whom he left so weak in the fort, which was still unfinished.

He advances and returns.

On his arrival at the city of Siam, he found all the gates shut, and he was informed by the bishop of Metellopolis, the abbé De Lione, and the chief of the French factory, that it was reported the king was dead; that all were in arms at Louvo, and on the roads; that they talked of arresting Constance, having spread a thousand stories to the disadvantage of the French; and, in short, that a great body of Siamese troops were marching for Bankok, to make themselves masters of this place. General Farges did not think it prudent to continue his route; but, halting in the neighbourhood of the capital, wrote without delay to Constance, to acquaint him

[n] Farges Relat. Revolut. at Siam, 1688.

with

with those unlucky reports; and let him know, that he judged it much better, for the good both of himself, as well as the French, that he should repair to them; that they might offer their services to the king's two brothers, heirs of the crown, who were then in the city of Siam; and thus remove the suspicions which the princes had conceived against them [o].

Constance embarass'd.

But that minister, either thinking the evil not so great as it was, or not being at liberty to retire from Louvo, or, in short, being in the interest of Prapye, would not listen to the French general's advice; who therefore, as soon as he had received the answer of Constance, retired immediately to Bankok, with a view to preserve his troops. At the very time when Constance sent for them to Louvo, Pitrachas was already in possession of the palace; and had at his devotion thirty thousand men at Louvo and on the roads, without reckoning the forces of the two princes, which were at that time joined with those of Pitrachas against the party of Prapye, in which, as Farges supposes, Constance wanted to engage him, although he durst not declare his intentions.

Pitrachas invites the princes and princess to court.

As soon as Pitrachas understood that the French were returned to Bankok, and that it would not be easy to master them, he had recourse to all the artifices imaginable to oblige the two princes and the princess to repair to Louvo, because it was of the last importance to him to prevent their joining with the French; and he could not advance his affairs so long as either the one or the other remained masters of the capital city and of Bankok, by the assistance they were able to afford each other on the least suspicion of his designs. He therefore repeated his invitations to them, under pretence that the king, who was at the point of death, wanted to see them, in order to place the crown on the head of one of them; adding, that they ought not to delay one moment, to come and receive the oath of allegiance from all the court, in order to prevent Prapye from gaining ground to their prejudice; and that as a faithful subject, zealous for their service, he had disposed all things in such a manner that they had nothing to fear [p].

The princes hesitated in complying with these pressing solicitations; not that they had then the least suspicion of Pitrachas, but because they saw themselves masters of Siam, and were not so sure of being well received at

[o] Des Farges, ibid. [p] Farges, ubi supra.

Louvo,

Louvo, where both Prapye and Conſtance then were; a circumſtance which ſeemed to forebode ſome unlucky accident. However, at length the younger prince ventured to go thither with the princeſs, who was to be his wife. They made their public entry, eſcorted by a great number of troops, ſent for that purpoſe by Pitrachas, who received them with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, and did them homage; in which ſtep he was followed by all the mandarins. Prapye and Conſtance were the only two who did not pay their attendance: however, ſome time after, the latter came, but was refuſed admittance.

Aſſaſſinates Monpi. Pitrachas, having now in his hands thoſe who might aſpire to the crown, would, in all probability, before he made uſe of arms, have waited the king's death, which was not far off; but, being informed that Prapye had cauſed ſome troops to advance, in order to try his fortune, which could not but prove fatal to him under the dominion of the king's brothers, his declared enemies, that crafty lord prevailed on the princes and great mandarins to ſecure his perſon. This important taſk he executed in perſon; although Prapye was then in the king's apartment, from whence he had never ſtirred from the time his majeſty fell ſick; yet Pitrachas laid his ſcheme ſo well, that having drawn him by artifice to the door of the chamber, he forced him out by violence, and cauſed him to be killed upon the ſpot, without regarding the king, who intreated him to ſpare the life of his favourite and adopted ſon.

Sends for Conſtance. This firſt act of the tragedy being over, Pitrachas judging it time to ſeize Conſtance alſo, ſent for him, in the king's name, to come to the palace. The miniſter, who knew nothing of Prapye's death, yet was under ſome uneaſineſs, took with him three French officers, among whom was one of general Farges's ſons. As ſoon as he entered the palace, Pitrachas, at the head of a great body of armed men, took him by the arm; and, with a fierce and diſdainful tone, ſaid, that he arreſted him as a priſoner, for having conſpired with Prapye againſt the ſtate, and diſſipated the public treaſure. The officers offered to lend him their aſſiſtance; but he thanked them, and deſired they would give up their ſwords without oppoſition. Pitrachas, concealing his evil intentions againſt the French for the preſent, ordered that they ſhould be conveyed to Thlî Pouſſon, under pretence of ſecuring them againſt the rage of the populace [q].

[q] Farges, ubi ſupra.

As

As for Conſtance, he was led in triumph, upon the walls of the palace, followed by a number of painted arms, who are the guards, and, at the ſame time, executioners, of the king of Siam. He was afterwards carried into the palace, and there loaded with heavy chains. He was tortured ſeveral times in different manners; and according to the common report, confeſſed that he had held a correſpondence with Prapye, and alſo ſquandered, or ſent out of the kingdom, great ſums of money. They afterwards, drew from him all the information he could give, with reſpect to the affairs of the foreigners, and then cut him in pieces. His houſe was pillaged; and his wife with moſt of her family put to the rack, in order to diſcover his effects. *Has him executed.* *Lord Faulkon executed.*

Such was the unhappy end of lord Conſtance, or Faulkon; who, after having riſen by his merit to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, fell a ſacrifice to the ambition of another. He was ſober, ingenious, and induſtrious [r]; he had an agreeable aſpect, and an extenſive capacity: his modeſty, ſkill, and diligence in diſpatching affairs, and his diſintereſtedneſs in refuſing both the appointments of his office, and all preſents from private people, daily increaſed the king's confidence in him, and rendered him worthy of a better fate: he was very civil to the Engliſh, and did them all the friendly offices which lay in his power; he was alſo very deſirous of ſettling a trade between this nation and the Siameſe; but his good intentions were obſtructed [s]. In the year 1688 he ſent a very conſiderable preſent to King James II. of all the rarities and valuable things which the Eaſt Indies produced, eſtimated to be worth about ſix thouſand pounds.

For the ſake of truth, however, we cannot help obſerving that he was accuſed of ingratitude to his benefactor; and the count de Forbin charges him with the moſt perfidious cruelty.

Kæmpfer relates, that after he had been tortured and ſtarved for many days, ſo that his body was almoſt reduced to a ſkeleton, he was carried in a chair to his own houſe, which he found rifled. To add to his affliction, his lady, who lay a priſoner in the ſtable, was ſo far from taking leave of him, that ſhe ſpit in his face, and would not ſo much as ſuffer him to kiſs his only ſon of four years old; another, who had died a little before, being ſtill unburied. From thence he was carried out of town; and after his

[r] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 170. [s] Full and true Relat. pref. p. 8.

head

head was ſtruck off, his body was divided in two parts, and covered with a little earth, which the dogs ſcratched away in the night; and then devoured the corpſe to the bones. Before he died, he took his ſeal, two ſilver croſſes, a relic ſet in gold, which he always wore on his breaſt, being a preſent from the pope, with the order of St. Michael, ſent him by the king of France, and delivered them to an officer of the court, deſiring him to give them to his little ſon [k].

His lady tortured.

As ſoon as the execution was done on lord Faulkon, all his effects were ſeized, and his family carried to priſon. His lady was put to the torture; which ſhe endured for ſeveral days together, without confeſſing what they expected or deſired. She was then thrown into priſon, where ſhe continued for ſome months, with chains on her hands and fetters on her feet. At the expiration of this term they made her and her family ſlaves; in which diſgraceful quality they took off her irons, and turned her out of priſon [l].

Pitrachas reſolves to ruin the French.

Pitrachas having deſtroyed this party, employed all his thoughts to ruin the French, whom he conſidered as the chief obſtacle to his deſigns. He was not able to draw to court the elder of the two princes, brothers of the king, who ſeemed to conceive ſome ſuſpicion on the repeated inſtances which were made to him on that account; and at which the younger, as well as the princeſs herſelf, expreſſed their ſurprize. The uſurper therefore, to take away all diſtruſt, thought proper to let the elder remain at the capital, and to take a ſolemn oath, before the ſecond and the mandarins, by which he acknowleged the princes for his true lords, and promiſed to do nothing but what was for their ſervice. This engagement, performed with all the ceremony neceſſary to render it ſacred among the Siameſe, baniſhed all diſtruſt againſt that artful miniſter, and gave him more authority than ever. However, although the lives of the young prince and princeſs were in his power, he was ſenſible that the elder, who was in the city of Siam, might, in conjunction with the French, give him ſo much trouble, that he durſt not venture to deſtroy them. For this reaſon he employed all his art to inſpire, as well thoſe of the royal blood as the reſt of the nation, with hatred againſt the French, in order to join in their

[k] Kæmpfer, ubi ſupra, p. 21.

[l] Full and True Relat. p. 7, & ſeq.

deſtruction;

deſtruction; and he had ſo far gained his point, that the princeſs herſelf was the firſt to give into that deſign [m].

However Pitrachas, before he proceeded to open force, had recourſe to all ſorts of ſtratagems to ſurpriſe the French. He wrote ſeveral letters to the biſhop of Metellopolis, the abbé Lionne, and the chief of the French lodge at the capital, to aſſure them, that he intended no manner of harm to either them or their religion; yet the abbé, on going to Louvo, to his great aſtoniſhment, found, that all the French in that city had been arreſted, and the other Chriſtians impriſoned and ill-treated; but the mandarin, who had been firſt ambaſſador in France, proteſted to him that the French had been uſed in that manner, merely to ſecure them from inſults; and that, as to the other Chriſtians, he would immediately ſet them at liberty; a promiſe which he actually performed.

Sends for Farges up to court.

The abbé Lionne, who went to the palace, was received very courteouſly by Pitrachas, in the midſt of a magnificent court; but, after many compliments, he declared to him, that it was the king's intention that general Farges ſhould repair to Louvo; that it was true, his majeſty did not blame him for returning to Bankok, on account of the evil reports which then were current; it was neceſſary that he ſhould no longer defer obeying his majeſty's orders: that, for this end, he had ſent the two mandarins, late ambaſſadors in France, with deſign to do Farges the more honour, and give him a new proof of his friendſhip: he added, that if the general did not repair to Louvo, his refuſal might receive a bad conſtruction, and occaſion miſchievous conſequences; that he hoped he would make no more difficulty in the matter; and that, in the interim, he would keep his ſon, the chevalier, near him at court.

The ambaſſadors were ordered to declare farther, that the king, having cauſed Conſtance to be arreſted as a priſoner of ſtate, had a deſign to give his place to the general's ſon; that, for this reaſon, it was neceſſary, he ſhould ſtay at Louvo for ſome time, to inſtruct him in the buſineſs of his poſt.

The general's perplexity.

Des Farges was not a little perplexed what courſe to reſolve upon. The mandarins abſolutely inſiſted that he ſhould go up with them; to which ſtep he was likewiſe preſſed by the abbé De Lionne, whom they had brought with them, in conſideration of the ſtate in which affairs then were. On the one ſide he perceived the danger he

[m] Farges Relat. de la Revolut. a Siam.

ran by putting himself into their hands; but, on the other, he saw he could not refuse going without causing an open rupture, at a time when he was in no condition to sustain a siege; having neither provisions, nor carriages for cannon in the place, which was open on all sides [n].

He resolves to go.

After many reflections, he was of opinion, that both honour and duty required him to expose himself, with his two sons, to all sorts of perils; to try, if by such marks of confidence, he could remove the suspicions of the Siamese, and preserve his troops. He considered likewise, that by this conduct he should avoid bringing on the French the imputation of want of fidelity, and gain time for putting Bankok in a better state of defence. He then gave the necessary orders to Mr. Verdesale, who commanded under him; adding, in presence of its other officers, that he was sensible of the risk he ran in going to court; but that the danger arising from his non-compliance would be more genera land certain: he exhorted Verdesale to his duty in his absence, and sooner see him and his sons hung up in his sight, than surrender the place intrusted to his care.

Brought before Pitrachas.

Pitrachas, being informed of the French general's resolution, sent him a handsome paleki, with other carriages for those who accompanied him. On his arrival at the gates of Louvo, he was complimented by a mandarin, who invited him, in the king's name to go directly to the palace. He passed through several courts full of armed men; and was at first very well received by Pitrachas, who had assumed the title of Great Mandarin. After many compliments on his merit, and the affection which the Siamese had for his person, he asked, by way of conversation, whether he had the absolute command of the officers and soldiers left behind at Bankok; and if any of them dared to disobey his orders? Des Farges answered, that discipline was very exactly observed in the armies of his master; and that all must obey at the first word of a commander. "Ha!" replied the Great Mandarin, "the king sent you an order to come up with your troops; how comes it then that you have brought nobody with you but your son?"

Ordered to bring his troops and write to Bruan.

This question, though unexpected, did not surprise the general so much as the assurance of the first ambassador; who affirmed to his face, that he had importuned him to bring his garrison along with him. Des Farges now perceived their drift, and began to despair of his own safety. Pitrachas observing that he had nothing to do but to write

[n] Des Farges, ubi supra.

to

to his officers to bring up the troops, he anſwered, that, according to the cuſtoms of France, a governor out of his garriſon has no authority there; and that, before he left his, he had deſired the firſt ambaſſador to let him know, whether the king had ſent any other order, that he might execute it at once; ſince it was moſt certain, that Mr. Verdeſale would not obey him in his abſence. The abbé De Lionne, perceiving the danger in which they were involved, repreſented to the firſt ambaſſador, that all was loſt if the general was detained; and that Mr. Verdeſale was a perſon who would hearken to nothing, but would puſh things to the laſt extremity.

This diſcourſe ſeemed to make an impreſſion on the Siameſe, who judged it better to ſend Des Farges back, and keep his two ſons as pledges for performing his promiſe. Afterwards they pretended to ſend him on an expedition againſt fictitious enemies, in which he was to have the whole command; and therefore, to ſecure the victory, propoſed to him to write to Mr. Bruan at Merghi, to join him with his troops. They then ſent him a draught of the letter in Siameſe; which, tranſlated, formed a jargon proper to give Mr. Bruan to underſtand, that the general was arreſted, and their affairs were in a very bad way. Pitrachas, however, was well pleaſed with the copy, imagining that what was a good ſtyle in Siameſe, was the ſame in French °.

The French fly from Louvo.

To add to the general's affliction, he was informed of an unhappy affair which befel the French who had been detained at Louvo. Theſe, after the departure of the abbé Lionne, with the two mandarins from thence, being in fear that Des Farges would not quit Bankok to obey the ſummons, determined at all hazards to eſcape thither. With this view they took horſes at that place, and made all the haſte they could to the neighbourhood of the city of Siam, where they found more than four hundred men aſſembled to oppoſe their paſſage. Some mandarins advancing, gave them their word, that nothing ill ſhould happen to them provided they freely ſurrendered themſelves. This promiſe prevented them from ſtanding on their defence. The Siameſe, however, regardleſs of their word, treated them in the moſt cruel and ignominious manner. They ſtripped them almoſt naked, and conducted them back with ropes about their necks, which they tied to the tails of their horſes, not regarding

° Des Farges, ubi ſupra.

the chevalier Des Farges, the general's son, who was one of the number; nor did they fail to beat them with sticks and lances to oblige those to rise who fell down with such cruel treatment, insomuch that one of them died on the road. They were afterwards exposed at Louvo for three hours to the mercy of the populace, who struck them in the face, and insulted them in the most outrageous manner [p].

The general returns. Des Farges quickly returned to Bankok, constrained to sacrifice his two sons whom they demanded in hostage, in order to get to the place where he believed his presence was most necessary.

Begins hostilities. As soon as he reached the fortress, he called a council, in which it was unanimously resolved to perish rather than yield themselves up to the mercy of the Siamese, who had given them so many proofs of their brutality. Mean while hostilities commenced, by attacking a ship belonging to the king of Siam, whose crew had refused to sell provisions to the French. The general withdrew the troops which were in the old fort on the west side of the river, because it was not possible to keep it; at the same time ordering the parapets to be demolished, and the cannon to be nailed up. Nor were the Siamese backward to annoy them in their work. No sooner had the French retired than they set about repairing the fort. To prevent their lodgement, three officers, at the head of thirty men, were sent in two shallops against them; but finding a multitude which they did not expect, they were forced to retire with the loss of three or four men. The French then kept up a constant fire to prevent the enemy from mounting a cannon, which would have commanded the fortress. Their works were several times destroyed, yet they had the obstinacy to repair them, although it cost them abundance of men. Mean while they did not cease firing for three or four days; and few nights passed in which they did not make false attacks, which, joined to the inconveniences within the fortress, exposed the French to inexpressible fatigues [q].

Bravery of St Crik. As there was no possibility of receiving succours from without, nor hopes of obtaining composition from their enemies, they resolved to send a small bark, belonging to the company, out of the river, in quest of two Siamese vessels, manned with Frenchmen, which had been sent a cruising two months before. This was a dangerous en-

[p] Des Farges, and the Full and true Relat. [q] Des Farges.

terprize,

terprize, but their situation required it. A lieutenant, named St. Crik, with nine soldiers, sailed down the river; but scarce was the bark out of sight, when it was attacked with such fury, that the French could not prevent their being boarded. However, St. Crik cleared the deck of the multitude by setting fire to part of his powder and all his grenadoes, which he had disposed for the purpose. The bark having afterwards run aground, the Siamese, who imagined all the powder was consumed, entered her again without any apprehension, and were blown into the air in greater numbers: then St. Crik setting fire to some barrels which he had reserved, blew up the bark, and all the Siamese who were it, most of whom perished with him, to the astonishment of those who were on shore.

Pitrachas's artifices.

Pitrachas, on the first advice which he received, that Des Farges refused to advance with his troops, sent the bishop of Metellopolis to him. This prelate arriving at a time when the enemy's fort was battered with the utmost violence, the Siamese took all his men prisoners; stripped him, and, putting a rope about his neck, threatned to expose him to the cannon of the fortress. The grand mandarin also tried another expedient: which was to make the general's sons write, to acquaint their father, "That there was no more life for them, unless he came to Louvo; and that it was even a favour done them, that they were suffered to let him know the dangerous condition in which they were." Des Farges replied, "That he would willingly part with his own life to save their's; but when the honour of the king, and the preservation of his troops were concerned, he had no interests but what he thought himself obliged to sacrifice; that they ought to rest satisfied with the consolation, that they had committed no crimes wherewith to reproach themselves; and that the king would in time revenge the outrages which should be done them[a]."

The two princes murdered.

Mean time the grand mandarin, from the advice which he received of what passed at Bankok, conceived little hopes of succeeding in his design against it, either by force or stratagem; and began to think that he ought not to defer prosecuting his ambitious views any longer on that score, but clear his way to the throne by making away with the two princes, brothers of the king; one of them was already in his hands, and he had taken his measures to secure the other. He therefore assembled the prin-

[a] Des Farges.

cipal mandarins in the palace, where he complained that the princes had planned his destruction; and desired to know what they thought was proper to be done with them. As his power was now too great for any person to oppose him, and he had besides gained over most of those great men by specious promises, they unanimously gave it as their opinion, that the princes deserved to be punished.

Immediately orders were sent to seize the prince who was at Siam, and bring him up to Louvo. Not many days after, both he and his brother were sent to Thli Pouson; where, being put into scarlet sacks, they were beaten to death with clubs of sandal wood [t]. They afterwards, seized all the considerable persons (who were the friends or acquaintance of the three princes), and caused them either to be put to death after the same manner, or else closely confined in prison [u].

The king dies. The old king was still alive when his two brothers were put to death; but he died the day following, being the 11th of July, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-second of his reign.

His character. Chaw-Naraya was the greatest prince who ever reigned in Siam. He was in stature of the middle size, strait and well-shaped. He had an engaging air, a sweet and obliging carriage, especially to strangers. He was lively and active, an enemy to idleness and sloth; always either in the woods a-hunting, or in his palace attending to the affairs of his kingdom. He was no lover of war, because it ruined his people, whom he tenderly loved; but no king in all the East appeared more fond of glory, or impatient to revenge an affront when offered by any of the neighbouring princes. His love for learning prompted him to send to Europe for persons who might teach his subjects the sciences. He was desirous of knowing every thing; and having a piercing genius, easily became master of what he wished to learn. He was magnificent, generous, and sincere. These were the illustrious qualities which acquired him the respect of his neighbours, the fear of his enemies, and the love, as well as esteem of his subjects, which fell little short of adoration. He was never addicted to those vices, particularly the immoderate use of women, so commonly found among the eastern princes. He had too much understanding to believe the senseless doctrine of an annihilated God; he believed the deity to be eternal, and that

[t] Farges Relat. Revolt. a Siam. [u] Full and true Account.

he

he governed the universe by his providence; to the same immortal being he prayed twice a day, in the morning when he rose, and at night before he went to rest [x].

Cha Naraya left behind him only one daughter, called Nang-sa, that is, *Young Heaven*. Chaumont says she was styled the princess queen [y]; and all agree that she had the rank and honour of a queen: in 1685 she was twenty-seven years of age. She had her lands, revenues, soldiers, and officers, distinct from the king's. She daily gave audience, morning and evening, to all the wives of the great officers at court. She went to see his majesty twice every day, and dined with him. *His family.*

Chaw Naraya left a sister likewise, and several aunts, at his death, who were all old women [z].

Reign of Pitracha. Peace concluded with the French. They depart Siam; none to remain under pain of Death. A Pretender taken and punished. Pitrachas' Successors.

THE usurper managed his affairs so politicly, that this great revolution was brought about without causing the least tumult or insurrection throughout the whole kingdom. Okpra Pecherachas, or Pitrachas, was distinguished from among the other grandees by his majestic air and his illustrious birth; for he was said to be descended from the true royal race, from which the father of the late king had usurped the crown. He was foster-brother to Chaw Naraya, and much about the same age. His affected zeal for religion had gained him the esteem of all the talapoy, as well as veneration of the people; who besides observed in him a heart truly Siamese, full of esteem for his own nation and contempt for others; but, being at the same time a great politician, he knew so well how to dissemble, that he constantly refused the most considerable dignities both for himself and his son, seeming to aspire to no other happiness than that of a private life. The distance at which he kept himself from public affairs, removing all suspicions of his designs, he was constantly one of the first in the councils of the king. Constance, who was thought to have the whole power, and omitted nothing to make the French think so, had not near so much credit nor access as Pitrachas [a]. *The usurper's policy.*

His family had not only been long in the highest offices in the state, but was frequently allied to the crown; and it was even publicly reported, when Loubiere was at *His family and character.*

[x] Full and True Relation, pref. p. 12. [y] Chaumont Relat. p. 110. Choisy, p. 373, 374, 398. [z] Des Farges Relat. revolt de Siam.

Siam, that either he, or his ſon Sourakak would aſpire to it, if they ſhould happen to ſurvive Chaw Naraya, who was nurſed by Pitrachas's mother. The people loved him becauſe he appeared moderate, and was by them ſuppoſed to be invulnerable, becauſe he had come off unhurt in a battle againſt the king of Pegu, in which his perſon was greatly expoſed. This lord, having diſpoſed every thing to his mind, ſet out from Louvo the laſt day of July, and arrived at the capital, where he was crowned with out oppoſition [o].

The kingdom pacified.

Pitrachas being now maſter of the kingdom, diſpoſed of the great offices of the ſtate in favour of thoſe who had faithfully ſerved him. He promoted all the mandarins whom he had any reaſon to fear, and even ſet at liberty thoſe whom he had cauſed to be arreſted, in order to gain both parties over to his intereſt. He eaſed the people of their ſervitude, and commanded public alms to be diſtributed, which effectually conciliated the affections of the whole nation.

Des Farges's ſons releaſed.

Pitrachas had no ſooner reſolved to make away with the princes, than he began to think of accommodating matters with the French, and obliging them to depart the kingdom in peace. He ſent for the ſons of general Des Farges, and told them, "that he found himſelf moved with compaſſion for them; that beſides he knew the integrity of their father's heart, and that he was not capable of breaking his word; adding, that he was convinced they were the troops, who, poſſeſſed with panic fears, could not be perſuaded to obey him; that he granted them their lives; and farther, out of conſideration for the general, as well as friendſhip for them, would ſend them to him." Their return to Bankok, which happened on the 24th of June, gave extreme joy to all the garriſon, as well as their father, who at firſt could not conceive what lucky motive to impute it to; but when afterwards he was informed of the death of the two princes, he concluded that the great mandarin was willing, by this act of generoſity, to open the way to a peace with the French; and the two mandarins, whom they conſulted on that occaſion, confirmed him in that opinion [p].

Sufferings of the Europeans.

From the time the general's ſons arrived at Bankok, the fire diminiſhed on both ſides, and ſeveral propoſals were made towards an accommodation; but the diſtruſt of the garriſon was ſo great, that they could rely on nothing.

[o] Kæmp. Japan. p. 23. [p] Des Farges, ubi ſup.

Toward

Toward the end of theſe negotiations, during which Des Farges found means to procure proviſions, the two Siameſe veſſels, manned with Frenchmen, mentioned before, arrived at the fortreſs; they returned them alſo the officers, who had been detained at Louvo, and ſome other French of that place, as well as the capital, found means to join them: they then were informed of all the ill treatment which they had received from the Siameſe, as well as the perſecution which the Siameſe, Peguan, and Portugueſe Chriſtians ſtill ſuffered in a cruel ſlavery; that the ſeminary of the biſhop of Metellopolis had been pillaged, and many young Chriſtian girls had been ſeized for the purpoſes of proſtitution.

Bruan abandons Merghi.

They were alſo informed by a Frenchman, who had been made priſoner at Merghi, that Mr. De Bruan and the French of his garriſon had been attacked; that water failing in the place, which beſides was commanded by a Siameſe battery, they had forced their way through the enemy, and ſeized a veſſel belonging to the king of Siam, by means of which they had got ſafe out of the country [q].

The day after Okpra Pitrachas was crowned, he ordered all the French and Engliſh, who were in that city and Louvo, to be ſet at liberty. De Fretteville, De Vandrille, Des Carges, and De Laiſſe, were all ſent by the new king's orders to Bankok; not to their own general, as they hoped, but to his general, who commanded the Malayans, by whom they were kept priſoners almoſt a month. All the French left at the capital were delivered into the cuſtody of the Jeſuits, and Viret, the chief factor of the French company, who were to be reſponſible for them. However, the king being reſolved to obtain a peace (H), at any rate,

[q] Des Farges, ubi ſupra.

(H) Kæmpfer gives an account of the concluſion of this affair very different from all the French writers; he ſays, that the general, being enraged at his diſappointment, on his return to Bankok fired on the Siameſe and their ſhips; he likewiſe hung up on the ramparts two of his garriſon, who were natives, for appearing not quite ſo ready to act as he would have had them, and committed all ſorts of hoſtilities. That this conduct had like to have provoked the Siameſe to act a bloody tragedy with him and his ſons; for which purpoſe they had begun to raiſe forts on the river, to cut off his retreat by ſea; but on his abating his firing, and laying all the blame on his people, who would not obey his orders,

rate, sent them at last to Mr. Des Farges, who would hearken to no treaty unless they were comprehended in it [r].

The Oriflame arrives. At this juncture advice came to Bankok, that the Oriflame, a ship of war, commanded by Mr. L'Estrille, was in the road, where he had continued for some time in great anxiety, to hear neither from the garrison nor from some officers of his ship, who had first landed; for it seems the Siamese had artfully conducted them to the capital, without passing by the fortress, or mentioning any thing of what had happened.

Lady Constance escapes. Another accident happened, which had like to have broken off all their negociations. Lady Constance found means to escape, and take refuge at Bankok [s]. The king demanded she should be sent back immediately; otherwise he would listen to no terms of accommodation. He threatened to inflict the most cruel tortures on her relations; so that her mother wrote to Des Farges, intreating him to accommodate the affair. This he did by a treaty, in which the king of Siam himself promised to allow the lady Constance liberty of conscience, with that of marrying whom she pleased; and that he would not permit any violence to be done either to her or any of her family; on which conditions he sent her back.

Her future condition. She was delivered into the hands of an old mandarin, one of the ambassadors who had been in France, and was conducted by water to Siam; where she was degraded to serve in the kitchens of the palace [t]. Kæmpfer informs us, that in the year 1690, lady Faulkon and her young son went begging about the streets, none daring to intercede for them [u]. But afterwards she recovered in some degree her former condition, for in 1719, she was honoured with the superintendency of the king's confectionary.

The French depart Siam. At length the negociation terminated by a capitulation; whereby the Siamese engaged to give the French three vessels, with provisions and all other necessaries, besides two great mandarins in hostage, to conduct them out of the kingdom. It was farther stipulated on the

[r] See Full and True Relat. p. 21.
[s] Des Farges, ubi supra.
[t] Orleans Hist. Constance, &c.
[u] Kæmpf. p. 21.

orders, the Dutch resident persuaded the court to slight his bravadoes; so that soon after he obtained leave to depart with his people. The French pique themselves much on the triumph of Des Farges. Must we believe them, or the Dutch?

part

part of the French, that they ſhould leave the works of the fortreſs entire; and they marched out with their arms and baggage, on the firſt (L) of November [m].

The French, according to P. D'Orleans, loaded Des Farges with reproaches on ſeveral accounts: 1. For not advancing to Louvo to ſupport Conſtance. 2. For delivering up lady Conſtance, who had fled to the banners of France for protection. 3. For ſurrendering Bankok, which, they ſay, he might eaſily have defended againſt all the forces of the king of Siam; and therefore accuſe him of cowardice, and even of crimes of a blacker die, breach of truſt and robbery. *Accuſed by others of heinous offences.*

We are told that Conſtance entruſted the general Des Farges with immenſe riches; and that it was the deſire of converting them to his own uſe, which was the true cauſe of the revolution which happened in Siam. To this our author imputes the loſs of Siam, and the death of the king, as well as of Conſtance, and others; with the delivering up of lady Conſtance, and her only ſon, to Pitrachas; leſt, if they ſhould paſs over to France, the vultures would be obliged to quit their prey. To the ſame cauſe he aſcribes the perſecution which the Chriſtians underwent; and in ſhort, ſuggeſts, that, but for the father's avarice, the ſon would have been king of Siam: for he affirms that the princeſs, heireſs to the crown, had given her hand to marry the young marquiſs Des Farges. But, for this our author ſeems to have had no other authority than that of the general's ſons, who boaſted at Martinico, that their father had deprived the marquis of the throne of Siam, and the chevalier the poſt of generaliſſimo [n].

The general Des Farges arrived in the beginning of the year 1689, with all the French, as well ſecular and military, as eccleſiaſtics, on board the four ſhips, with which he ſet ſail from Siam. On the way he put into the port of Balaſſor, and there, by advice of the Jeſuits, ſet the two mandarins on ſhore. *The French leave Pondicherri.*

The French at Pondicherri, ſent two ſhips to Europe to inform the king of the ſtate of their affairs; and then,

[m] Des Farges, ubi ſupra. aux Ind. Orient.

[n] De Challes Journ. d'une Voy.

(L) According to P. D'Orleans, they ſet ſail the 29th of November, and arrived at Pondicherry the beginning of February, 1689.

full

full of resentment for the miseries they had suffered from the Siamese, resolved to subdue the island of Jonsalam, on the coast the to south of Merghi. But Des Farges departed for Europe without making any attempt on that island. He set sail in the Oriflame with his two sons and four Jesuits, carrying with him the immense riches which Constance had trusted in his hands.

Des Farges dies at sea.

He died in the voyage, but the Oriflame steered her course for Martinico in the West Indies; where the general's two sons are said to have expended one hundred thousand crowns in the space of two months. About the end of March 1690, they left the island in the Oriflame, which, in quitting the Antilles, met with an English ship. The vessels attacked each other, and boarding both sunk to the bottom, in sight of the Caribbees. In the Oriflame perished, besides the marquis and the chevalier Des Farges, the four Jesuits, with their riches and their writings. Thus ended the long and expensive expeditions of the French to Siam, with all their sanguine hopes of getting footing in the kingdom, or converting the king and natives. In these expectations they were the dupes of lord Faulkon or Constance, who, being a foreigner himself, seems to have had nothing more in view than to provide for his own security, by the assistance of foreigners against the Siamese, whom he knew to be his enemies [o].

With respect to the mission, captain Hamilton says, it was in a very low state in 1720. He observes, that the French had a bishop with a church, and a seminary for the education of converts, which stood a little above the city of Siam, on the opposite side of the river; but that they made very few proselytes except when corn was dear, at which time some of the poorer sort admitted baptism, which entitles them to a maintenance from the church; but when plenty comes they throw away their beads and brazen saint, and bid adieu to Christianity. In the above mentioned year, the Christians in and about Siam did not exceed seventy, and were the most dissolute, lazy, thievish rascals, says our author, to be found in the whole country [p].

Remarks on Siam.

We have now finished our account of this remarkable revolution, with its causes and its consequences: which, besides its use as a were curious piece of history, helps to fill up the reign of the prince who brought it about.

[o] De Challes Voy. ubi supra.

[p] Hamilt. New Account of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 165.

Pitrachas

Pitrachas had scarce established himself on the throne, when he was in danger of being deposed by a priest of Pegu. This talapoy had been formerly taken into custody at the capital for some misdemeanour, and during his confinement became so well acquainted with the affairs of the court, that he pretended to be the elder of the late king's brothers, who had been put to death by Pitrachas, as before related. This impostor gained so much credit in all parts of the country among the common people, that in a short time he drew together about ten thousand men. Being informed that the king's son Sourakak, intended to be on a day appointed at a certain place, in order to divert himself with his whole court, he went thither with his followers, and lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, purposing, as soon as the prince and his retinue arrived, to put them all to the sword, then to surprise the city, and treat the king and his adherents in the same manner. The prince, who knew nothing of this plot, when the day came, advanced towards the place; but perceiving a great multitude of people suspected some evil design, and escaped to the capital, leaving part of his treasure behind him. Pitrachas, on this alarm, with great speed, assembled an army of twelve thousand men, and sent them to oppose the pretender, who was in full march towards the city. This unexpected opposition threw the undisciplined rabble into such a consternation that they immediately dispersed; flying with so much precipitation, that though they were diligently pursued by the king's forces, not above one hundred of them were killed, and three hundred taken, the soles of whose feet were burnt, to prevent their escape. A few days after this rout the priest himself was found in the wood, sleeping under a tree, with only a boy along with him, and was carried to Siyuthia. There he was exposed to public view for several days, chained about the neck and breast to a post; then his belly was ripped open, and his bowels being taken out while alive, were thrown to dogs to be devoured before his face[1].

A.D. 1689.

A pretender starts up.

Taken and punished.

We are strangers to the subsequent transactions of this king's reign, and even to the time of his death. But according to the account we have of his two immediate successors, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his usurpation. We are told he was succeeded by his son, by whom we understand Sourakak before-mentioned; and

Pitracha's successors.

[1] Kæmpfer, p. 24.

that

that he married his father's widow, though againſt her will; that he died in 1708, and left the throne to his ſon Chaw, who would have married the ſame lady, but that ſhe abſolutely refuſed to comply with his inclinations; and in order to avoid his importunities, retired into a convent, where ſhe died in 1715. We meet with nothing in the authors before us, relating either to this prince or his ſucceſſors, excepting that in 1717, the king of Siam invaded Kamboja, with an army of fifty thouſand men by land, and twenty thouſand by ſea; but was obliged to retire, after having loſt half his forces for want of proviſions[m].

SECT. IX.

The Kingdom of Kamboja.

Deſcription of the Country.

Authors. KAMBOJA is a country very little known to Europeans; for although both the Dutch and Engliſh have had opportunities of viewing it from one end to the other, by means of the river, which they have aſcended, yet very few have regarded the improvement of geography, or the curioſity of their countrymen ſufficiently, to give any tolerable account of what they ſaw. The only authors, who may be ſaid to have treated of it in any degree expreſly, are Gaſpar da Cruz, a Portugueſe dominican friar, who went thither on the miſſion about the year 1559; Argenſola, in his hiſtory of the Philippine iſlands, which he wrote about 1592; Henry Hagenaar, who went to India in 1631, and was ſent from Batavia, as ambaſſador to the king of Kamboja, in 1637; Gerard van Wuſthof, ſent ambaſſador in 1641, from the city of Kamboja to Winkjan, then capital of the Laos, up the river Mekon; laſtly, Captain Alexander Hamilton, who was at Kamboja in 1720, and gives ſome deſcription of it in his New Account of the Eaſt Indies, publiſhed in 1744.

Bounds, extent. This country is ſituated between the 9th and the 16th degree 30th minute of latitude; and between the 19 degree 30 min. and 126 degree of eaſtern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Paris; is bounded on the weſt by Siam; on the north by the kingdom

[m] Hamilton, ubi ſupra, p. 181. 196.

of

of Lanjang and the Laos, with part of Kochin-china; on the east by Kochin-china and Champa; and on the south by the bays of Kamboja and Siam; or more distinctly by the former on the south-east, and by the latter on the south-west, on which side its greatest extent of coast lies, as it stretches seven degrees thirty minutes from south to north, its greatest length that way amounts to about five hundred and twenty English miles; and its greatest breadth from west to east, including six degrees thirty minutes of longitude, is about three hundred and ninety-eight miles.

Superficial form.

The land of Kamboja may be compared to a great valley with a spacious river running through the midst, lying between two chains of mountains which extend from north-west to south-east; separating it on one side from the kingdom of Siam, and on the other from those of Kochin-china and Champa: so that in a great measure it resembles Egypt, with this difference, that the valley or space between the mountains is not so long as that of Egypt, but is much more extended as to breadth.

Air and soil.

The air must be very hot, in consequence of its being situated so near the line; and as it is inhabited almost solely near the great river and its branches, it is attended with the inconvenience to which countries overgrown with woods, are subject, that is, of being much pestered with muskittos, which are extremely troublesome to the navigation of the river [a].

The soil however in fertility is equal to most Indian regions [b]; it produces corn, rice, pease, butter, oil, and other provisions in such plenty, that Spaniards, Persians, Arabs, and Armenians, resort thither to bring them away. It abounds with fruits of various kinds and drugs, such as bangue, sanders, and opium. The sugar is very good; and indigo is prepared here after an excellent manner.

Commodities.

Kalamba, aloes, and other odoriferous woods (C), are found in Kamboja; with variety of precious stones, such

[a] Hagen. apud Recueil des Voyag. Holland. de la Compag. des Ind. Orient. tom. v. (vol. 8. bound) p. 339. [b] Argensola's Discovery and Conquest of the Spice Islands, apud Stephens Collect. Voy. and Trav. p. 142, & 143.

(C) Sapan wood, sandal wood, agala wood, sticklack, and lack for japanning; besides many sorts of physical drugs. Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 107.

as

as amethysts, garnets, hyacinths, cornelians, crysolites, and agates, cats-eyes; not to mention milk-stones and blood-stones, besides a sort of crystal found in the mountains, which is exceedingly transparent.

Raw silk and elephants teeth may be had in this country at reasonable rates; the first at one hundred and twenty dollars per pekul (D); and the largest teeth for fifty or fifty-five dollars each. Gold likewise is among the productions of Kamboja, of twenty-one carats fine. Provisions of flesh and fish are exceeding cheap, and may be bought without a permit from the king: Captain Hamilton purchased a bullock of between four and five hundred weight for a Spanish dollar; rice at eight pence per pekul; but poultry are scarce, because the country being for the most part covered with trees, when the chickens grow big, they repair to the woods and shift for themselves. The woods also give shelter to great numbers of elephants and tigers, besides wild cattle, buffaloes, and deer; all which animals are free for every body to catch or kill [c].

Its ports. The coast of Kamboja is known by several marks; among the rest, that of numerous trees, and even entire woods, which appear in view. But although it extends about one hundred and forty leagues along the sea, yet there are not in that space above five or six ports fit to receive ships; at least Europeans have not discovered more. Of these the first is Kupang-soap, on the south-west coast towards Siam; where may be had elephants teeth, stick-lack, and the gum named from the country Kamboaj, or Kambodia: but then no free commerce is allowed there without a licence from the court of Kamboja.

Ponteamas. The next place is Ponteamas, or Pontiamo, having the conveniency of a pretty deep, though narrow river, which, in the rainy seasons of the south-west monsoons, communicates with Bansak or Kamboja river. This conveniency drew to it the foreign commerce from the capital city; which lying near one hundred leagues up the river, and the continual stream running downwards for most part of the way, made the navigation thither

[c] Hamilt. ibid. p. 195. 198.

(D) The pekul is about one hundred and forty pounds weight.

long

long and troublesome. For these reasons they chose rather to resort to Ponteamas, which increased and flourished till the year 1717, when it was destroyed by the Siam fleet.

Islands on the coast.

Although there may be other ports on the coast of Kamboja, yet these two are all which we are acquainted with. On the south-west side it is crouded with little islands, especially towards Siam; but those which are largest, and best known in navigation, lie at a considerable distance from the shore. Yet none of them are inhabited, because the salîters, or pirates, who infect that coast, rob the inhabitants of what they acquire by pains and industry. There is one called Quadrol, about three leagues west of Ponteamas, which has the proper requisites for a settlement. It is about three leagues long and one broad, has plenty of wood and water. The land is moderately elevated; the soil black and fat, excepting on the east side facing Ponteamas; where yet it has several fine sandy bays, which afford safe anchorage in the seasons of rain and wind.

Pulo Panjang and Ubi.

About seven leagues south-by-west of Ponteamas river, and eighteen west of the neareſt coast, is Pulo Panjang, consisting of a cluster of eight islands, which form a pretty good harbour. Thence south-east about twenty-two leagues, and almost eight due south of the point of Kamboja, is Pulo Ubi; which lies in the way of all ships bound from either the gulf of Siam, or the south, to the river of Kamboja. It is about seven or eight leagues in compass, the land pretty high and very woody, affording good masts for shipping[d]. It hath water on the north side, where vessels may ride; but the best anchoring place is on the east side, against a small bay.

Pulo Kondôr.

The last island of note on the Kamboja coast is Pulo Kondôr, about forty leagues to the eastward of Pulo Ubi, and twenty south of the Banſak river. It belongs to a great parcel of little islands, and is the only one inhabited. There is good anchorage on the north side; and at the south end lies another island, stretching from north-west to south-east, about three miles long and one broad, in such a manner as to form a harbour between. The entrance is from the north-west, where the two islands are about one mile asunder; but towards the south end of the harbour they almost meet, there being only a small passage for boats[e].

[d] Hamilt. p. 204. & 206. [e] Dampier's Voyage, vol. i. p. 390.

This iſland ſtretches with a great bend from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, forming a large hollow or bay on the ſouth-eaſt ſide. It is not above three leagues long and one and a half broad. It has two good ports, one parallel to the other; and both lying from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt. The inhabitants call it Konon, and ſome French have intitled it the Iſle of Orleans.

Fiſh and fowl. The ſea abounds with fiſh, particularly large turtles of a delicate taſte; with whoſe ſhells and oil the inhabitants drive a profitable trade on the continent. Of a fiſh like anchovies they make a brine or pickle, which the Kochin-chineſe mix with their rice. There are very few birds here; the moſt remarkable are ſpar-hawks, who are at continual war with the fiſhes; and a bird as large as a wood-hen, which is of a beautiful green, with a ſtripe of white at the end of the tail; the fleſh is greyiſh, and very delicious; but fowl are plenty.

Apes and lizards. Apes are here in prodigious numbers. Of lizards there are five kinds; one ſort like thoſe in France; the reſt are of the ſize of common ſerpents. Some of them have wings, and are of the ſize as well as colour of lizards; under the chin they have a purſe, white, and ſhaped like a heart, which dilates and contracts in breathing. Other lizards are covered with ſcales, and of a frightful aſpect; what is worſe, their bite is mortal. They get into the hollows of trees in the evening, and make a cry ſo loud that one would think it came from ſome great bird. It is called koka, from the ſound which it utters at thoſe times.

The lizards of the fifth kind, which are likewiſe ſcaly, have hands and feet, armed with claws, as large as thoſe of a boy of fifteen; the tail is triangular; they are ſeven or eight feet long, and, it is ſaid, are good to eat (K).

Flying ſquirrels. One ſees in Pulo Kondôr flying ſquirrels; rats which have ears like human creatures; dormice as large as fowl; butterflies with trunks. Serpents and inſects of all kinds are numerous, and very troubleſome. In the iſland to the ſouth-weſt of the port, there are ſeveral ſorts of wild beaſts [t].

Trees, kinds. Theſe iſlands are covered with trees ever-green, very thick, tall, and ſtrait. The areka, mango, ebony of all ſorts, and milk-trees, are very common; alſo bambû, rat-

[t] Dampier's Voyage, vol. i. p. 390, & ſeqq. P. Gaubil apud Societ Obſerv. Math. Aſtron, &c. p. 107.

(K) Theſe may be the guanos Dampier ſpeaks of.

tan,

tan, and wild muſcadine. There is a little ſhrub which bears wild grapes, or rather a kind of gooſeberry. Many of the trees are odoriferous, and ſome yield gums; whereof one ſort much reſembles benjamin. The tree, which affords an oil, called goudron by Dampier, is here very common. It is of the kind whoſe body is tall and wood hard; the leaves and bark much like thoſe of the cheſnut-tree. The oil is drawn in this manner; three or four feet from the ground they make a hole in the tree, a foot high, one and a half wide, and half a foot deep. Here they put fire, and in a little time the oil begins to drop; at firſt it is brown, then it grows whitiſh, and at laſt reddiſh; it has then the conſiſtence of butter, and a very ſweet ſmell. The beſt times for obtaining this oil are in September, January, and February; but it may be had all the year round. The inhabitants make torches, by ſteeping in this oil the bark of a tree, which afford a very clear light. This tree, as well as many other ſorts, is very proper for maſts, yards, plank, and other ſhip timber; the reſt afford wood for all kinds of works. *Moſting.*

Fruit trees are very numerous, but for the moſt part wild; as almond and medlar trees, a kind of ſervices, and other fruits; fair to the ſight, but inſipid, and perhaps dangerous. Here are found, however, kernels in a large red pod, which when roaſted taſte like cheſnuts. *Fruit-trees.*

Of cotton, papaya, citron, and tamarind trees, there are but few in the iſland. All the palm-trees and aloes are wild; ſo are the latan and bannana trees. One meets alſo with the ſquolante, the capillaire, and ananas; beſides many beautiful plants and flowers, worth the obſervation of botaniſts [a].

There is but one village in the whole iſland; and that only is the place which is inhabited. It ſtands at the bottom of the great bay before mentioned, among ſeveral little rivers, in a plain. The habitations are no better than cabins. In one part of the village are ſeveral oratories, called tlan, ranged in a ſemicircle, with a great tree in the midſt, on which they erect a flag on feſtival days. In this place, which is called Tour, that is *Lord*, they render honour to the ſouls of their heroes, princes, and literati; the ſame reſpect they pay to their anceſtors, in private oratories. To the north-eaſt there is a temple where a prieſt reſides. Towards the ſouth-eaſt part of the *The village.*

[a] Gaubil, ibid. Dampier, ibid.

village between two rivulets there is a magazine, a bake-houſe, and the foundations of a fort, built by the Engliſh [w].

The port. The port between the great iſland and the ſmaller, before deſcribed, is little, but exceeding good. Veſſels are ſheltered from the winds by the hills which incloſe it on the ſides; but in the rainy ſeaſon the place is frightful. The French, who began a fort of ſettlement on the eaſt ſide of this port in 1721, ſuffered greatly. The plain in which the village ſtands forms a kind of ſemicircle, whoſe ſemi-diameter is about three quarters of a mile; it is very marſhy, and the ſoil ſandy, yet, if cultivated, might produce nouriſhment for men and other animals; but the inhabitants have neither fowl, cattle, rice, pulſe, nor plants. All the reſt of the iſle conſiſts of rocks, precipices, and ſteep mountains; covered indeed with beautiful trees, but cut with a thouſand rapid torrents, and full of inſects and ſerpents, without any fruits, flowers, or other uſeful vegetables; all which, eſpecially in the rainy ſeaſon, that is for near two-thirds of the year, make Pulo Kondôr one of the worſt places in the world.

The inhabitants. The inhabitants are only poor fiſhermen, who have properly no fixed habitation, but go and come as their buſineſs obliges. Hence it is that ſcarce any of the neceſſaries of life are to be met with in Pulo Kondôr; which ſometimes ſerves for a place of baniſhment to the Chriſtians in Kochin-china, whoſe language, religion, and manners, the people of this iſland have received. They have all long black hair, believe the migration of ſouls, and underſtand the Chineſe characters, although they ſpeak a different language. The Engliſh were formerly poſſeſſed of this iſland till extirpated by the Malays and the inhabitants [x].

Engliſh factory. In 1702, when the factory of Chew-ſhan, on the coaſt of China was broken up, Mr. Allan Ketchpole, then director for the affairs of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, made choice of Pulo Kondôr for a colony. He hired ſome Makaſſars to ſerve for ſoldiers; engaging however to diſcharge them at the end of three years. When the time was expired, Mr. Ketchpole ſtill detained them contrary to articles; yet ſtill entruſted them with the guard both of his own perſon and the garriſon: but theſe eaſtern deſperadoes took an opportunity to murder the Engliſh in their beds.

The garriſon maſſacred. The noiſe, made by ſome who were awake, giving the alarm to thoſe who lodged without the fort, they ran to the ſea-ſide; and were ſcarce put from ſhore in a boat,

[w] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, alſo Dampier, ubi ſupra. [x] Gaubil, ibid.

which

which they luckily found ready fitted with oars and sails, before the Makassars came in quest of them. After having rowed a great number of leagues, they reached some place in the king of Johor's dominions, where they were kindly treated [y].

From Pulo Kondôr let us pass to the river of Kamboja; the west branch of which lies fifteen or twenty leagues almost due north of it. The name of this river, according to some authors, is Menon or Menan, but more properly Mekon; though it usually goes under the appellation of the river of Kamboja, and of the Laos. It is by many reckoned the largest in all the Indies; carrying so much water in summer that it overflows the adjacent country, like the Nile in Egypt [z]. *River Mekon.*

This river is so little known to Europeans, that it is not easy to describe it. In its course through Kamboja, from north-west to south-east, it seems to divide in several places. The most remarkable branch is that, which separating from it about thirty-six miles below the capital city Lowek, and two hundred and fifty miles from the sea, runs parallel to it at a few miles distance; this is called by some Matsiam and Oubequame, by others the West Channel. About fifteen miles from the mouth, it divides into two or three streams, the most western of which is named Bassak, or Bansak. The main stream, which below the first division is called the River of Japan, about seven miles from its mouth divides also into two branches; the two main channels communicate with each other by several cross streams, and fall into the sea by different mouths about thirty miles asunder. *Branches little known.*

Da Cruz says, from the report of the Laos, that it rises in China; and passing through that country from north to south, enters Kamboja at a place called Chudurmuch; it receives a large river also, which comes from a great lake in the utmost borders of Kamboja towards Siam; and passing by Lowek, the capital of the country, thirty-six miles lower meets the Mekon at the place above mentioned. There it discharges most of its waters into the Mekon; and the rest pass by another channel to the sea, especially in the time of the winter floods, caused by the rains in other northern countries, for it does not rain then in Kamboja. At this place the river of Laos is called Sistor, and rushes with such fury into that of Loech, as to force it back with a strong current, which *The passage up.*

[y] Hamilton, ubi supra, p. 206. [z] Argensol. ubi supra, p. 143.

runs upwards from July to September. All this while the country is overflowed, and the inhabitants go from place to place in boats. It is on account of these inundations that they built their houses on piles, raised many feet above the ground [a].

Hagenaar's passage.

In the year 1637, Hagenaar entered the branch of Bassak, which he calls a little river, with his four ships, and passing into the river Matsiam, navigated as high as the capital of Kamboja.

Van Wusthof's passage as high as Laos.

Four years after this expedition, the Dutch sent an ambassador, named Van Wusthof, from thence to the court of Laos, a circumstance which furnished an account of this river so much higher: but the journal of this voyage is neither very particular nor exact. They embarked in little pirogues, or shallops, and spent eleven weeks in the navigation. In some places they found the stream very broad, in others very narrow and full of rocks; so that they were often obliged to unload their boats, and carry the goods by land.

They from time to time passed by towns and villages on the banks, pretty well built after that country fashion. The most remarkable places were Loim, Gokkelok, Looim, Simpow, Sombok, Sombabour, Baatsiong, a small city twenty-two days journey beyond the city of Kamboja, which formerly had a king of its own. Namnoy, where much gold is found, some days journey from the frontiers of Laos: Bassak, Okmum, Naewein, Samfana, Beenmouk, Saymoun, Tapanom, and Lashon, another small city belonging to the king of Kamboja, who keeps a viceroy there; Huysoun, a town famous for the beauty of its silk manufactures; Meunkok, a city of pretty considerable commerce, whither the Laos carry all their merchandize.

They met also with very high mountains, and some isles formed by the river. At length they arrived at Winkjan (L), capital of Laos, two hundred and fifty miles from whence they departed [b].

Chinese pirates

In the year 1687, the king of Siam sent captain Howell and captain Williams, Englishmen, who commanded two

[a] Da Cruz, apud Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 169. [b] Van Wusthof's Embassy, apud Hist. Gen. des Voyages, Hague edit. tom. xii. p. 287.

(L) The capital of Laos is by other authors named Lanjân or Lanchang. But whether they are the same, or different cities, is uncertain.

frigates

frigates in his ſervice, againſt ſome Chineſe pirates, who had taken poſſeſſion of an iſland up the river of Kamboja. Theſe were ſome of thoſe who, when the Tartars conquered China, fled in their own ſhips; and, turning free-booters, took many of the Siameſe ſhips trading in thoſe ſeas. They found this river very large, eſpecially at its mouth, navigable for very great veſſels for the ſixty or ſeventy leagues which they aſcended, whence they concluded that its depth and wideneſs extended much farther upwards. The courſe of the river is generally from north to ſouth, and the land low on each ſide, with many large creeks and branches; likewiſe conſiderable iſlands in ſome places. They ſteered up that branch which ſeemed moſt capacious; having the time of flood with them, and the river commonly ſo wide as to give them room to turn and tack, where the bending of the channel was ſuch as to receive a contrary eaſt or ſouth-eaſt ſea-wind. In the night, when the land winds came, they anchored and lay-by till ten or eleven o'clock next day, when the ſea-breezes uſually ſprang up again and enabled them to continue their courſe [c].

Settled in the river.

When they arrived at the iſland, they landed their men, routed the pirates, burnt their houſes, ruined their fortifications, and took many priſoners. Theſe people had built a town, and fenced it round with trees, laid along four in a breaſt, and about as many in height. As the land was exceeding good, and they were provided with all ſorts of inſtruments fit for planting, they might have lived happily enough had they followed agriculture. The Engliſh captains having effected their purpoſe, left the river; but the ſouth-weſt monſoon being already ſet in, ſo that they could not proceed to Siam, they went to Ma-kau in China. There, to ingratiate themſelves with the Tartars, they delivered up their priſoners to the governor, who entertained them handſomely; and were afterwards received at Siam with great applauſe.

Diſlodged by the Engliſh.

All the towns in Kamboja, known to Europeans, have been already mentioned and deſcribed, excepting the principal city. This commonly is denominated from the country itſelf, but it has its proper name, which is variouſly written. Da Cruz calls it Loech; the author of Van Wuſthof's voyage, gives it the name of Eauwek; perhaps the laſt is miſprinted for Lauwek. It ſtands on a branch of the great river, thirty-ſix miles above Chudur-

The capital deſcribed.

[c] Dampier's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 105.

muk, where it falls into it[d]. It is fifty or sixty leagues from Ponteamas, a hundred from the bar of the great river, and forty from the borders of Laos[e]. Its situation is most agreeable, all the houses are contiguous and ranged along a bank. The king resides in a palace, which appears like a cloister, inclosed with a pallisade six feet high. However, it is defended by a great number of cannon brought from China; and twenty-four pieces of artillery which were saved out of the wreck of two Dutch vessels on the coast of that kingdom. Within the inclosure are the stables of the elephants. The inside of the palace, though built with wood, glitters with gold and silver. The second ornament of the city is a temple of a peculiar structure, the art and beauty of which was extremely admired by the Dutch. It is raised upon pillars of wood varnished, with foliage and reliefs gilded. The pavement itself is precious, and preserved with magnificent mats and carpets. In it there was a tomb built with brick in form of a pyramid, all gilded likewise; as were five great images and five small ones, on the south side of the temple[f].

King's palace.

Nations settled there.

The city is inhabited by Japanese, Portuguese, Kochinchinois, and Malayans. Some of these nations repair thither in one monsoon, and return in the other. There are of Japanese seventy or eighty families, and of Topasses, or Indian Portuguese, about two hundred, with their wives of the country; some of them have pretty good posts in the government. But they are without priests, nor will any venture to go amongst them; for in 1710 a poor Capuchin went thither to officiate; and finding that one of his principal parishioners, who had two wives, disregarded his admonition to put one of them away, proceeded to excommunication, for which the other knocked out his brains. Since that time they wrote both to Siam and Makau in China for pastors, but none it seems would go amongst them.

Topass-Portuguese.

All the Portuguese have pensions from the king of Kamboja; but as they are too small to maintain them, they repair to the woods, and shoot wild elephants for their teeth, which they sell to strangers. Their way of killing them is very singular. They form a piece of iron like a slug, and making one end sharp, drive it into the bark of a certain tree, which is of a violent poisonous quality. A

Subtile poison.

[d] Da Cruz, apud Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 169. [e] Hamilt. ut supra, p. 197, & 206. [f] Hagen. ubi supra, p. 361, 349. Wusthof, ibid. p. 290.

little

little time after they draw the ſlug, and coming near the animal, fire it into his body: the elephant being thus wounded flies, but in a little time drops down dead. They kill cattle and buffaloes, for their tongues, after the ſame manner. What is no leſs ſtrange, this poiſonous juice has the property to preſerve as well as deſtroy life; for if, while in the woods, either hunger or thirſt ſeizes them, they ſqueeze a few drops of it on the leaf of a tree, and find immediate relief by licking the leaf; but if the ſkin ſhould be broken, and the juice enter the fleſh, it proves mortal without remedy [g].

Natives of Kamboja.

The kingdom of Kamboja, though very fertile, is but thinly peopled [h]. The natives are of a light brown complexion, and very well ſhaped, their hair long and beards thin. The women very handſome, but not very modeſt. The men wear wrappers about their bodies, but nothing on either the head or feet. The female dreſs conſiſts of a petticoat reaching below the ancle, and a frock made tight to their bodies and arms.

Commerce and manufactures of what importance.

The Kambojans do not trade much by ſea; but foreigners reſort to them for ſake of the commodities which their country affords, and eſpecially proviſions, which are very plentiful and cheap. Their chief commodities are gold, raw ſilk, ivory, odoriferous woods, and drugs. The people make divers ſorts of cotton cloths, calicoes, muſlins, buckrams, white and painted dimities, exceeding the fineſt made in Holland. They have carpets alſo, and a ſort called bancales, reſembling Scotch plaids. They both weave and work with the needle rich ſilk hangings, and coverings for chairs, palekis, and other furniture [i].

When Hagenaar was at Kombaja in 1637, the Portugueſe from Malakka brought thither cloth, and carried back with them benjamin, gum-lak, wax, rice, copper baſons, and iron ſtoves made in China.

The Dutch quit Kamboja.

The Dutch had a factory in the capital city of Kamboja at different times; but the treacherous deſigns of thoſe people, to which they ſaw themſelves expoſed, made them at length abandon the country: and the rather, as moſt of the merchandizes which come from Kamboja and Laos, are to be found in the neighbouring dominions, where they had factories already, eſpecially in Siam; to which the firſt of theſe kingdoms is tributary [k].

[g] Hamilt. ubi ſupra, p. 198, 207. [h] Wuſthof, ubi ſupra, p. 200. [i] Argenſol. apud Stephens Voy. and Trav. vol. i. p. 143. [k] Hagen. ubi ſupra, p. 363, & ſeq. Wuſthof, ubi ſupra, p. 290.

According

Objects of worſhip.

According to Da Cruz the Kambojans worſhip ſeveral different gods. One they call Probar Miſſur who made the earth and heavens. This power he received from another god named Pra Lokuſſar, with the permiſſion of a third called Pra Iſſur. The friar tells us, that having convinced the prieſts that Probar Miſſur, far from having created the world, was a very wicked man, they promiſed to worſhip him no longer, having till them adored him in conjunction with Pra Put Pra Far Metri [l]. Pra Put is probably the Puti Sat of the Siameſe; a conjecture which ſeems confirmed by captain Hamilton [m], who obſerves that the Kambojans worſhip the ſame gods who are worſhipped in Siam. They adore the ſupreme God under the name of Tipedah, giving him Praw Prumb and Pra Pout (G), for his ſons. It may be preſumed from hence, that, as Argenſola obſerves, they hold the tranſmigration of ſouls. Temples and pyramids are very numerous throughout the country: ſome are built with wood, others with ſtone, and all well gilded within, as their idols are on the outſide [n].

Future ſtate.

They believe there are twenty-ſeven heavens or manſions one above the other, for the reception of ſouls after this life; ſome of them furniſhed with ſenſual pleaſures, ſuch as delicious food, with liquors of various kinds, and beautiful women. The next worlds above theſe are reſerved for their holy prieſts who dwell in the deſerts, whoſe felicity is to conſiſt in ſitting, and being refreſhed with cooling winds. In the heavens beyond thoſe again, the gods have bodies round like bowls; and they who aſcend thither have the privilege of aſſuming bodies ſhaped like thoſe of the gods. They have likewiſe thirteen hells, ſituated one above another; and the wicked are doomed to the higher or lower according to the nature of their tranſgreſſions.

Their clergy very numerous.

The clergy have among them a kind of hierarchy, conſiſting of five orders. The firſt are named Maſſankraches; theſe preſide over all the others, and ſit above the king. Thoſe of the next order are called Naſſendeches, like our biſhops; they ſit equal with the king. The third order is that of the Mitires, or prieſts, who ſit below the king. Beſides theſe there are two orders ſtill lower, named Chaynizes and Sazes.

[l] Da Cruz, apud Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 166. [m] Hamilton, ubi ſupra, p. 203. [n] Wuſthoff, ubi ſupra, p 291.

(G) Pra, or Pra Pout, is Buddah, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Fo, or the god of Tibet.

The

The clergy, prieſts, and religious, were ſo numerous, that Da Cruz judged them to conſtitute one third of the people in the kingdom of Kamboja.

According to Hagenaar the clergy hold the firſt rank in the ſtate, and ſit before the oknias, or lords of the court, very near the king, with whom they diſcourſe very familiarly [e]. They ſhave the beard, head, and eye-brows, like the talapoy of Siam, but are not permitted to marry like thoſe of the Laos. Their power extends even to civil affairs. They have a particular head, or chief prieſt, who bears the title of râjah pourſon, or *king of the prieſts*. This chief reſides at Sombrapour, on the frontiers of the Laos, and has under him a tivinia, with ſome inferior officers, in conjunction with whom he decides all the affairs of his diſtrict. The boats which in their paſſage arrive at this place, are obliged to give him an account of whatever they carry, which is always accompanied with ſome preſent [f]. *Their power and claſſes.*

Da Cruz, who calls the prieſts of Kamboja, Brammâns, ſays, in his time the king was a Brammân, that is, *a prieſt*; and it was to this connection between the king and them that he imputes the ill ſucceſs of his miſſion. He obſerves, that their influence over the people was ſo great, that if, whilſt he was preaching to them, any of the prieſts paſſing by only ſtopped and ſaid, "This doctrine is good, but our's is better," they would all diſperſe at once. For this reaſon, and becauſe the king ſhewed no inclination to favour the Chriſtian religion, after a whole year ſpent in the country, he neither found any fruit of his labour, nor the leaſt encouragament for miſſionaries to repair thither [g]. *Popiſh miſſion.*

There are two ranks of ſtate officers, who may be called the nobles or great lords of the kingdom. The firſt have the appellation of oknias, or okinas; and on them, as principal officers of the crown, is conferred the government of provinces, cities, and towns. Of theſe oknias likewiſe the council of the king is compoſed, and all cauſes or ſuits of whatever kind are tried by them, though the king pronounces ſentence according to their report. The oknias are diſtinguiſhed by a gold box for containing their betel, in which there are two or three leſſer boxes of the ſame metal, filled with cardamum and other perfumes, wherewith they rub their lips; and another full of lime, with ſciſſars to prepare their pinang, or betel. This box *Government and nobles.*

[e] Hagen. ubi ſupra, p. 363. [f] Wuſthof, ubi ſupra, p. 291.
[g] Da Cruz, ubi ſupra, p. 167.

they

they either hold in their hands, or order to be carried before them. The officers of the second rank, named tonimas, or tonimnes, are allowed only to have silver boxes for their pinang or betel. They are placed behind the oknias, or privy counsellors, who, on all occasions which require ceremony, sit in a semicircle about the king. There is a third sort of nobles called nampra, but this is merely a title of honour; yet the lords of this rank are often sent to meet ambassadors, and on other special messages or matters of ceremony, in which alone they seem to be employed [h].

King despotic. The king of Kamboja is so despotic, that he inherits not only the lands but the effects of his subjects; so that the wife and children have nothing to trust to, but what they can conceal or convey away by stealth.

His forces. The country being very thin of inhabitants, the king's forces cannot be supposed to be very numerous; according to Hagenaar they amount to no more than twenty or thirty thousand men [i].

His state. Nevertheless, his Kambojan majesty takes great state upon him, and is not a little jealous of his honour. When Hagenaar went ambassador to Kamboja in 1637, the king took offence that the letters to him and his son, whom he had associated in the throne, from the Dutch general of Batavia, were not properly directed. He was likewise displeased because they were not written on gilt paper; but the greatest cause of disgust was the hesitation of the Dutch in furnishing him with four pieces of cannon.

Hagenaar's embassy. When Hagenaar drew near the capital with his barks, the king sent nampras two or three times with presents to salute him. On the 16th of June he landed, with a train of twenty musketeers and two trumpets. He found at the water-side a very large elephant, but without teeth, and three or four chariots. The letters for the two kings were received by a nampra, and being carried under an umbrella, were placed upon the back of the elephant. The ambassador went into the first chariot, which was gilded; the chief factor in the second; and the tonimne, who came to accompany Hagenaar, in the third; the captain of the vessel, with the presents, was carried in the fourth. Each chariot was drawn by two oxen, and the rest of his people followed on foot.

Goes to court. As soon as he alighted at the palace, he was conducted towards the hall of audience, where a great chair

[h] Hagen. p. 341. 360. 363. [i] Ibid. p. 362.

was

was placed for him to reſt himſelf a time, he being much indiſpoſed. The hall was full of people. Having firſt paſſed between two ranks of tonimnes, with their ſilver boxes in their hands, he entered between two rows of okinas, or onias, holding their gold boxes before them. When he came to the middle of theſe laſt, he bowed and made his reverence to the king, who appeared in one corner of the hall, ſupported by a wooden rail twenty or twenty-five paces from him, under which there were two horſes fed with graſs. On the floor were ſpread two red carpets, whereon the preſents were placed; which conſiſted of two arquebuſſes with reſts, ten fuſees of Spain, two piſtols, two ſword-blades, and the remainder were in packets.

His audience of the young king.

The general's letter was preſented in a piece of gold ſtuff on a gold cup, placed in a varniſhed baſon. It contained many wiſhes for the proſperity of the king; which having firſt been repeated by the interpreter, were afterwards recited aloud in Malayan, and then tranſlated into the language of Kamboja. As the king obſerved the ambaſſador much fatigued, he adviſed him to retire into the anti-chamber; where he was accommodated with a quilted bed, and two cuſhions. Mean while the people being withdrawn, the king ſat and diſcourſed familiarly with the chief factor, and the captain of the veſſel. Towards evening the muſketeers were ordered to put out their matches, and the trumpets to leave off ſounding. Several ſorts of fruit, ſweetmeats, and other delicacies, with arrack, were ſerved up; of which the company eat, and then took leave. At this audience the king demanded the four cannon, and went away much mortified at what was ſaid on that occaſion; however, he ſent ſome medicines called oubat, which he had promiſed to the ambaſſador, while he was at the ſhah bander's, where there was a great entertainment made for him [w].

At an audience of the young king, Hagenaar was received very graciouſly, and preſented with arrak and betel. He was deſirous of having an audience of the old queen; but the ſhah bander informed him ſhe was drunk: and that to make her preſents would be throwing them away [x].

Hiſtory of Kamboja.

The reader is not to expect a circumſtantial detal of the hiſtorical tranſactions of a country ſo little known, and ſeldom viſited by Europeans. The firſt account we find of it is about the year 1559, when it was ſubject to

[w] Hagen. p. 344, & ſeq. [x] Ibid. p. 343, 356.

Siam.

Siam [y]. Thus it continued for some time; how long we know not; for in 1592 Laudara, a Mohammedan, king of Kamboja, sent two ambassadors, one a Portuguese, the other a Spaniard, with a rich present, to Gomez Perez, the Spanish governor of the Philippine islands, to desire assistance against the king of Siam, who had marched with a numerous army to invade his dominions; offering in return to become subject to Spain, and embrace the Romish religion. Perez, being then employed in measures for recovering Ternata, and the rest of the Molukko islands which had revolted, excused himself, for not having it in his power at that juncture to send the king the desired aid: however, he promised that, as soon as his expedition against Ternata, should be happily terminated, he would employ his forces to the relief of Kamboja.

He accordingly embarked on this expedition with a number of Chinese volunteers, whom he treated so harshly at sea, that they massacred him and all his people in the night [z].

The Spaniards applied to.

Louis das Marinas, the son of Perez, succeeded him in the government of the Philippine islands. In the year 1594 Langara, king of Kamboja, sent to put him in mind of the promise made by his father, and to require the succours. This demand Louis thought fit to comply with; zealous to bring those nations into the bosom of his church, as well as their riches and kings under subjection to the crown of Spain. With this view he equipped three ships, manned with one hundred and twenty Spaniards, and some natives of the Philippine islands, under the command of John Xuares Gallinato, born in Teneriffe, one of the Canary islands. Gallinato, by stress of weather, was driven to the city of Malakka; but the other two ships reached Kamboja. In their passage up the river they were informed, that the king had been defeated by the Siamese army, and was fled with the poor remains of his forces into the kingdom of the Laos; and the king of Siam had set upon the throne Prâ Neär, nicknamed Wrymouth, the traitor.

Assist the Kambojans.

This intelligence did not hinder the Spaniards from proceeding: however, as the state of things was changed, their commanders, James Veloso and Blase Ruyz, pretended, that they came as ambassadors to the new king. Being

[y] Da Cruz, ubi supra, p. 166. [z] Argensola, ubi supra, p. 135, & seq.

arrived

arrived at Chordumulo, fourſcore leagues from the bar, they left forty Spaniards in the ſhips; and with the ſame number proceeded for the country where that prince then was. When they reached the place, they demanded an immediate audience; but were put off for two days, and in the mean time had good quarters. The Spaniſh commanders looking on this delay as ſuſpicious, went to viſit a beautiful lady of the royal family: by her they were informed, that the king intended to have them all ſlain; and, that the reaſon for putting off their audience, was only to gain time to put his deſign in execution.

Kill the uſurper.

The Spaniards returned the lady thanks for her intelligence; and came to a reſolution to attack the king's palace that night. The better to ſucceed in their enterprize, they ſet fire to the houſe where the powder was kept, and during the confuſion into which this accident had thrown the people, entered the palace. After they had put the guards to the ſword, they forced open the chamber of the king, whom they ran through the body. The prince defended himſelf, and cried out for help; but before any could come to his aſſiſtance he bled to death. On the news of this action the whole city, containing more than thirty thouſand inhabitants, ran to their arms; fourteen thouſand men, with a number of elephants, came upon the Spaniards; but their two commanders, drawing up their little body, retired in good order, fighting and killing great numbers of their enemies in the retreat. The battle continued all night; and next day they reached their ſhips, leaving the country involved in new diviſions[a].

Gallinato offered the crown.

Two days after this ſtrange event, Gallinato came up with his ſhip. When he arrived, he found evety thing in motion; he heard the guard drums beating, and the bells ringing, and ſaw the ſtreets and the port full of people in arms. Perceiving things in this ſituation, he gave ſtrict orders to thoſe who accompanied him in the expedition, to behave with moderation; and neither offend the people by their words, nor by their looks ſhew any ſigns of fear. He was viſited by the principal men of Kamboja, whom he entertained with much courteſy. He might have performed ſome great exploit if his forces had been more conſiderable; but as his ſtrength was too ſmall, and affairs had taken another courſe, he thought it beſt to return; from this deſign, however, thoſe great

[a] Argenſola, p. 136. 145.

men

men endeavoured to diſſuade him, promiſing to confer the crown on him; as being well affected to the Spaniards and a foreign government.

The king reſtored. Veloſo and Blaſe Ruyz ſailed from Kamboja to Kochin-china; where landing, they went to the kingdom of the Laos, which lies to the weſt of it, in order to ſeek out the depoſed king Langara, and reſtore him to his throne. They found he was dead, but had a ſon living; who, as ſoon as he was informed that the Spaniards had killed the uſurper, ſet forward with them for his kingdom, accompanied with ten thouſand men, lent him by the king of the Laos, contrary to all expectation. With theſe forces he attacked Kamboja, aſſiſted by Ruyz and Veloſo, who continued with him after the war was over. This prince ſent an embaſſy to the Philippine iſlands, requiring ſupplies to quell the troubles which were then on foot; promiſing not only to become a convert to the Romiſh faith, but alſo to yield a conſiderable part of his dominions to the Spaniards for their ſubſiſtence [b].

The Spaniards deſtroyed by the natives. Don Louis de las Marinhas undertook the enterprize at his own coſt. He ſet ſail from Manilla with Don James Jordano, an Italian, Don Pedro de Figueroa, Pedro Villeſtil, and Ferdinand de los Rios Coronel, Spaniſh commanders. The laſt of them had been in the firſt war of Kamboja, and was at this time a prieſt; but they had not been long at ſea before they were ſurpriſed by a furious ſtorm, which continued three days, and drove them toward the coaſt of China. There two ſhips foundered: of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, on board the vice-admiral, only five got on ſhore by ſwimming; ſome ſoldiers likewiſe were ſaved out of the admiral's veſſel, and among the reſt the military prieſt. The other ſhip got to Kamboja, almoſt ſhattered to pieces. She found in the river eight junks of Malayans; and the Spaniards, perceiving that they deſigned to carry away ſome ſlaves belonging to the prince whom they came to aſſiſt, inconſiderately boarded them: but the Malayans by means of their fireworks, ſoon burnt their ſhip, and moſt of the Spaniards periſhed in the flames. Not long after this event, Blaſe Ruyz and Veloſo, who ſtill continued about the king, were attacked in the houſe where they dwelt, and murdered by the natives.

Kamboja conquered The Kambojans being thus deprived of all hope of farther ſuccour from the Spaniards, ſtruggled with their war

[b] Argenſola, p. 145.

for

for some time; but at length, about the year 1600, were subdued by Râjah Api, king of Siam [c]. During the troubles which arose on the death of his brother the White King in 1610, Kamboja and Lanjang revolted. In 1637, when Hagenaar was there, it was in rebellion against Siam; having lately thrown off the yoke [d]. Besides the misfortune of being so often subdued by its neighbours, the restless spirit or ambition of the princes of the blood frequently involved the country in civil wars, which rendered it a more easy prey to invaders. We are told that it was in this distracted state from the year 1628, or thereabouts, till 1680; when, on the death of Nak Shân the king, new troubles arose by one prince assassinating another. The murderer applied to the king of Kochin-china for his consent to reign; but that prince divided the dominions between him and the adopted son of the late king. The usurper, dissatisfied with this partition, put himself under the protection of the king of Siam; the other applied for succours to the prince of Kochin-china: but having been defeated by the usurper's son, who succeeded his father, fled thither for shelter. Three years after this discomfiture, he returned with forces and expelled the former. In 1685, this latter being powerfully assisted both by sea and land from Siam, made another attempt to recover the kingdom, which, however, miscarried.

involved in civil wars.

The war continued between the princes of the two contending branches, supported by their neighbours, who at first espoused their quarrel: but we know little of what occurred till the year 1717, when the king of Siam invaded Kamboja with an army of fifty thousand men by land, and twenty thousand by sea. He gave the command to his barkalong, a Chinese, who being altogether unacquainted with war, would willingly have declined the charge; but the king insisted upon his compliance. The ill success of this expedition made it appear, that he was a better judge of his own abilities than his master [e]. The king of Kamboja, knowing himself unable to withstand such a powerful invasion, ordered his subjects who lived on the frontiers to withdraw with their effects towards the capital city, and to destroy whatever they could not bring away; by which means the country for fifty leagues together was turned into a desert. He next applied for suc-

Tributary to Kochin-china.

[c] Hagen. p. 147. [d] Floris, apud Purch. Pilg. vol. i. p. 319.
[e] Hamilt. ubi sup. p. 181.

cours to the king of Kochin-china, who, on condition that he ſhould become tributary, agreed to protect him. He accordingly ſent an army of fifteen thouſand men to his aſſiſtance by land, and three thouſand in light gallies, well equipped, to defend the coaſts.

The Siameſe ill ſucceſs by ſea and land.

The army of Siam, though three times more numerous than that of Kamboja, finding all the country deſolate, ſoon began to be in diſtreſs for want of proviſions. This inconvenience obliged them to kill their elephants and horſes; and the ſoldiers being obliged to eat their fleſh, an epidemic flux and fever ſeized the whole camp; ſo that in two months the army was diminiſhed above one half, and thoſe who remained were obliged to retreat to their own country, with the Kambojan troops continually at their heels.

Nor had the Siameſe navy better ſucceſs, although more than four times the number of the Kambojan fleet. As ſoon as they arrived at the port of Ponteamâs, they ſent their ſmall gallies to plunder and burn the town. This ſervice, indeed, they performed effectually, and of elephants teeth only they conſumed more than two hundred tons; but the Kochin-chineſe, ſeizing this opportunity, attacked the large junks and ſhips of burden which lay in the road above four miles from the town, whilſt the gallies of the enemy were encumbered in a very narrow river, and could not come to their aſſiſtance for want of water. The Kochin-chineſe, who did not care to engage ſuch a ſuperior force, having accompliſhed their intention, retired; and the Siameſe ſteered their courſe homewards with diſgrace [b].

SECT. X.

Kingdom of Champa.

Extent and ſituation.

THE country of Champa is ſo ſmall, and perhaps inconſiderable in the way of commerce, that it is little regarded by navigators. It is commonly ſuppoſed to begin at the mouth of Kamboja river, and to end at Kochin-china, although that coaſt is frequently aſcribed to Kamboja; in fact, they are often confounded together. Mr. De L'Iſle gives Champa but a ſmall extent of coaſt bending north-eaſt from Kamboja; but makes it run north-

[b] Hamilt. p. 196, & ſeq.

ward

ward at the back of Kochin-china, between it and the ſaid river [c]. Mr. Danville places it in 10 deg. 30 min. north, terminating in 12 deg. 13 min. where it joins Kochin-china on the north-weſt, bounding both countries on that ſide by the ſame chain of mountains; ſo that their breadth from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt is equal, about ſeventy Engliſh miles, or ſixty minutes of latitude and the length of Champa from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt, about a hundred and forty miles.

Iſlands and banks.

Along this coaſt there are ſeveral iſlands and ſhoals; the moſt remarkable are Pulo Seſir do Terra, and Pulo Seſir do Mar. The firſt lies near the ſhore at the north point of Seſir bay, and the other far out at ſea, about ſixteen leagues to the ſouth-by-eaſt. There is a third called Tiger iſland, towards the ſouth point of Seſir bay.

Bays and harbours.

Champa ſeems to be furniſhed with ſeveral good bays and harbours, into which fall many rivers; but theſe laſt are neither large, nor of any great length, as deſcending from the mountains which bound it on the north-weſt.

Towns and villages.

The ſtate of Champa within land is very little known to Europeans. It ſeems to contain few conſiderable places; nor are they acquainted with the names of any except the capital or chief town, named Feneri, where the king keeps his court.

Kochin-chineſe of Champa.

The natives of Champa are called Loys, a very different people from the Kochin-chineſe, who are at preſent their maſters. Theſe latter came from China at the time when the Tartars conquered it, and reſemble the Chineſe in their features, beard, and dreſs, excepting that they do not cut their hair. They wear on ceremonious occaſions large black gowns, like the officers of juſtice in France. They think themſelves more learned and ſkilful than other nations, although they are entirely ignorant of commerce, and even of agriculture.

Theſe Kochin-chineſe are very poor. Their forces conſiſt of ſome gallies, each having on board forty or fifty men, and mounting two ſmall guns. Their arms are muſkets, pikes, ſabres, and ſagays.

The Loys tributary.

The Loys, or natives of Champa, after a long war carried on againſt them by the Kochin-chineſe, at length became their tributaries, by a treaty of peace, made in the beginning of the preſent century. The conditions were, that the king of Champa ſhould remain in peaceable poſſeſſion of his territories, but that he ſhould render homage

[c] See Hamilt. Map of Aſia, 1723.

to the ſovereign of Kochin-china; and that a mandarin of this laſt kingdom ſhould have the ſecond place in the royal council of Champa, where nothing can be determined without his conſent [d].

Perſons and dreſs.

The Loys are ſtouter and better made than the Kochin-chineſe; their complexion is ruddy, the noſe a little flat; they have long black hair, ſmall whiſkers, and little beards; they wear ſhirts and cloſe breeches of callico; their outer garment is a white paigne, in form of a petticoat, with a gold or ſilk fringe, according to the quality of the perſon. The king's guards and the mandarins are clothed differently from the Kochin-chineſe, having, inſtead of a gown, a white veſt with the turbân; the officers wear it ſomewhat longer than the common ſoldiers.

The people differ much alſo in character from their maſters; they are more humane and affable to ſtrangers, more laborious and rich; but not ſo ſtrong by land as the Kochin-chineſe. However, the Loys are ſuperior at ſea; their gallies are better built; and their boats, in form of tartans, ſerve for catching fiſh, which they have in great plenty on their coaſt.

Tribe of Moys.

There is among them a tribe named Moys, who inhabit the mountains, and are employed by them in all laborious works.

The Loys and Kochin-chineſe have nearly the ſame laws. There is great ſubordination among them, from the king, the mandarins, and the placemen, to the commonalty.

Laws ſevere.

A perſon is puniſhed for the ſmalleſt fault whatever. The lower claſs of people are not allowed to keep ſilver in their houſes; he who is diſcovered to have any will be condemned by the mandarin of the place either to pay a mulct, or receive a ſevere baſtinado. Their money, called kaſh, is of copper, the ſize of a liard, or French farthing: a hundred of theſe conſtitute an amarad, which is worth thirty French ſols [e].

Religions tolerated.

All religions are tolerated and freely exerciſed in Champa; but thoſe moſt prevailing are the Mohammedan and doctrine of Confuſius; nor is idolatry without its votaries alſo. Some adore animals; others worſhip the ſun, moon, and ſtars. The Mohammedans of this country eat ſwine's fleſh, and offer their wives to ſtrangers. Their marriages are made without any ceremonies, and at ſmall expence; the conſent of the parties is ſufficient, after which they chew betel, and all is over: their diet is no-

[d] Dapres, Neptune Orientale, p. 83, & ſeq. [e] Idm ibid.

thing

thing but rice and dried fish, sometimes half-rotten; but to console themselves, they drink much arrack, and often get drunk.

The southern part of this kingdom produces a little cotton, some indigo, and bad silk. *Produce,*

Ships come from China every year loaden with tea, ordinary silk, china-ware, and provisions; in exchange they take gold, which is finer than that of China, and a certain sweet-scented wood which grows on this coast (A), in order to burn on the tombs of their parents, and in honour of their images. This commerce was interrupted for about twenty-five years, in consequence of their ill-treating the Chinese, some of whose vessels they plundered and burned. Ever since that time the Chinese have traded here with great precaution; and others, to be revenged, have invented new duties of anchorage to lay on the merchandize, which they oblige them to pay before they will allow them to traffick [f]. *and trade in bad condition.*

This account of the inhabitants of Champa we have from the French; who, putting in there some years ago, were detained, and obliged to ransom themselves (B). *French surprised.*

SECT. XI.

The History of the Kingdom of Kochin-china.

IT was called by that name, which signifies Western China, by the Portuguese. to distinguish it from the kingdom of Cochin, on the Malabar coast. *Kochin-china described.*

Kochin-china is situate under the torrid zone, and extends, according to some authors [g], from the 12th to the 18th, but according to others, from the 8th to the 17th degree of north latitude, about five hundred miles in length; but is much less extensive in its breadth from east to west. It is bounded by Tong-king, on the north; on the south, by the small kingdom of Champa, or Chiampa; on the east, by the Chinese ocean, upon whose *Its boundaries.*

[f] Dapres, ubi supra, F. Borris, & al.

[g] F. Alex. de Rhodes in Collect. Voy.

(A) This is the kalamba, which is reckoned better than that of other countries

(B) The substance of this relation was, for its curiosity, inserted by Mr. Dapres in his great Neptune Orientale, containing the best charts and instructions for navigators, with respect to the East Indies, hitherto published.

coasts it hath a good number of sea-ports, both safe and easy of access, besides several islands, of which we shall speak in the sequel; and on the west, by the kingdoms of Laos and Kamboja; both which are tributary to it, as well as that of Champa, and some others.

Division. The whole country is divided into six provinces; the most considerable of which is that called Sinuva, or Shanoa, which borders upon Tong-king; the other five are *Populousness.* Quam-bin, on the north; Cham, Kangtia, and Kinhin, along the coasts; and Rau-van, within land [b]. They are all very well peopled, and have some large towns, though none of them remarkable for any thing else, except that of Kehue, which is the residence of the chova, or king, and is situate in the province of Shanoa. And even this is not so celebrated for the beauty and elegance of its edifices, which are mostly of wood, supported by painted pillars, as for as the splendid appearance of its court.

Fertility from its yearly inundations. The inundations, which happen regularly every year, towards the middle of autumn, and continue two whole months, render the country uncommonly fertile, especially in rice, by the great quantity of mud they leave behind.

Among the fruit-trees peculiar to this country, there is one which resembles a sackful of chesnuts, one pod being a sufficient load for a man; the weight of which, the branches not being strong enough to bear, the divine providence ordained it should grow close to the root, in large bunches. The rind of it is very thick, and when opened, is found to contain about five hundred chesnuts, larger than those we have from Spain; but what the natives value most in them, is a white well-tasted skin, which covers them, and which they peel off before they roast them [c]. Another, no less extraordinary for the excellent use of its wood, is that which they style the incorruptible tree, not liable to rot or corrupt under earth or water; of so tough and solid a nature, that they make anchors of it for their shipping. This tree grows chiefly, and in great plenty, on the mountains; is exceedingly tall; and so thick, that two men can hardly fathom the trunk; they have it of two colours, one black, the other red; the former much like that which the Siamese and Chinese call the iron-tree, and put to much the same use.

[b] De Rhodes, ubi sup. [c] De Rhodes, ubi supr.

The

The ſame mountains produce the aquiline or eagle-wood, aloes, calambac, and others of the ſame rare and odoriferous nature: they abound with quarries of ſeveral ſorts of marble, gold and iron mines. The natives have learned the art of fuſing and working the latter into ſeveral branches, from the Chineſe; but are ſtill ignorant in the art of caſting it, eſpecially into cannon, bombs, mortars, and other artillery. Thoſe mountains abound likewiſe with vaſt quantities of wild beaſts, particularly the rhinoceros and the elephant; the latter of which, if we may credit father Borri, exceeds all the reſt in India in bigneſs; the feet of the male being full half a yard in diameter, and their teeth between four and five yards in length.

Mountains, quarries, mines.

Large elephants.

The moſt remarkable of all their mountains, is a long ridge, which extends itſelf along the weſtern frontiers from north to ſouth, inhabited by a wild lawleſs people, called Kemoy, who pay neither tribute nor ſubjection to any government; being exempted from it by the inacceſſibility of their rocky habitations [e].

A wild people called Kemois.

The reſt of the country being moſtly low and flat, and yielding plenty of all neceſſaries for life, is extremely well peopled. Their open towns are in great numbers, and very large. Borri mentions ſome of them four or five miles long; and moſt of them are ſaid to ſwarm with inhabitants. The villages ſeem almoſt contiguous to one another. Their fairs are frequent, and well crouded both with men and wares for all uſes. But the moſt conſiderable are thoſe kept during the time of the inundation, when the whole country lies under water, and looks like a ſea covered with a variety of boats, barges, and other veſſels, going from one province to another, with great eaſe and expedition, and all carrying on ſome uſeful branch of inland commerce. But what the natives eſteem the moſt profitable manufacture, is that of ſilk, which they weave into a great variety of ſtuffs. The ſails, cordage of their ſhips, fiſhermen's nets, and other ſuch mean implements, are made of ſilk. Pepper, ſugar, honey, wax, and an oil which they obtain in great plenty from their numerous land tortoiſes, form the other branches of their commerce; great quantities of each, being conveyed from their ſea-ports into various countries of India, in foreign bottoms. The author of the New Atlas tells us, that the kings of this country formerly gave the Chineſe and Japaneſe leave

No walled cities, but large towns.

Travelling by water.

Silk, and other manufactures.

Commerce.

[e] Borri, ubi ſupra, Chevrier Cochin-china, & al.

Emporium at Faifo.

to build a city on a bay, nor far distant from the town of Faifo, or Farfo, where the most considerable fairs were kept. The bay, which he places in 16 deg. lat. and 108 ½ E. long. is very safe and commodious for all sorts of ships,

Imports, exports, and customs.

and much frequented by the two nations above mentioned, and other foreigners, who import wrought plate, silks, and other rich merchandize, during the four months which the fair lasts; the duties and customs of which make a considerable branch of the king's revenue, and of the peo-

Two inlets into the bay.

ple's commerce. The Chinese and Japanese, which inhabit the city, are governed by their own laws, and chuse their own magistracy from among themselves; and are the chief factors and managers for all merchandize imported and exported between the natives and other Indian nations who trade thither. Their exports, however, are not considerable, consisting only of their silks, cottons, aloes, cassia, wax, sugar, and betel-root, all which are chiefly bought by the Chinese.

Character of the people.

The Cochin-chinese are a stout, robust, and industrious nation, and differ not much from the Chinese in nature and complexion, except that the coasters are of a deep olive colour. Father De Rhodes, who lived amongst them, extols their affability, justice, good-nature, and hospitality; but the Dutch, who have been worse treated by them, represent them as proud, treacherous, faithless, thievish, lying, ungrateful, and rapacious. Both characters are very probably exaggerated, the one through favour, the other through resentment; but in the main, they are generally allowed to be a sober, courteous people, temperate in their diet, dress, and way of living; of a calm and patient temper, not easily ruffled into an indecent or passionate behaviour.

Their food.

Their chief food consists in rice and pulse, variously dressed, and seasoned, and fish, of which they likewise have such plenty and variety, that a man may make a good meal of two or three rich dishes for the value of three halfpence or two pence. They observe great neatness in dressing and serving up their meat, each person sitting at his own little round table, with his victuals ready minced, as in China. Their common drink is a sort of tea, which they cultivate among them, but which hath neither the fine taste or flavour of the Chinese; in lieu of which, we are told, that it hath such a fattening quality, that the king forbids his soldiers the use of it, lest they should become too corpulent. They have no wine, but make some strong li-

Drink.

quors of rice, either brewed or distilled. The better sort

mix

mix with their common drink a water distilled from their calambac, which gives it a fine flavour and taste, and is, besides, an excellent stomachic and carminative. Like the neighbouring nations, they chew their betel, and present it to their friends as a compliment and token of friendship.

Long hair

They affect to wear their hair at full length, in token of liberty, though, like the Tonquinese, they are tributary to a foreign power. In other respects, both sexes dress much after the Chinese manner. Their grandees and courtiers appear in magnificent apparel; and are much fonder of pearls than of diamonds. The women are always veiled abroad, but uncover their faces when they receive or return a salute. The garment which is next their body is long enough to trail about a span behind them; the others are each half a span shorter than the other.

Dress of the women, and learned.

Their literati affect to wear high caps, in the shape of a mitre; they never cut their nails or beards, nor flash their gowns so low as the rest. Their upper garment is commonly of black damask, with a stole about the neck, hanging down to the knees, and a blue handkerchief twisted a little above the wrist.

Houses neat and plain.

Their houses are neat and convenient; the pillars on which they stand, and other ornaments about them, are nicely painted and carved, and some of them gilt; but their furniture within is rather plain than sumptuous; yet the meanest of them have three sorts of seats, with which they accommodate their visitors; the one a mat, or cushion, laid on the floor, for those of the lower rank; the second, a square or round stool, about six or eight inches high, more or less rich, according to their circumstances, designed for those of a middle rank; the last a kind of chair, about twelve or fifteen inches high, without back or arms, for those of the highest quality[m]. Their marriages, burials, festivals for the dead and living, arts, sciences, particularly physic and surgery, learning, language, writing, and arithmetic, being nearly on the same footing here as in China, from whence they came, we shall not trouble our readers with an anticipation of them in this place. Here are some few schools maintained by the king and presumptive heir; but what is chiefly taught in them is astronomy, or rather astrology, and this merely for the sake of prying into future events.

Threefold seats.

Customs received from the Chinese.

Astronomy very little known.

Some of their head professors are able to foretel eclipses, that is, to foresee that there will be some such defection

[m] Borri, Tavernier, De Rhodes, Baron, Hamilton, & al. sup. citat.

in

Calculation of eclipses imperfect.

in one or other of the luminaries, whenever the lunations happen to be near what we call the moon's nodes; but as to calculating exact time, quantity, duration, and other nice particulars, they are still so much in the dark, for want of proper tables, and other helps, which the Jesuits introduced into China, that they often mistake in one or other of those particulars.

Astrology in great vogue.

With respect to astronomical phœnomena, they not only follow, but outdo, the other Indians, in superstition; and as they have been taught to look upon them as portending some great and threatening event, so their superstitious fear makes them accumulate every extravagant expedient used not only by the Chinese, but by their other neighbours, to avert the omen [n].

Religion, three sects;

Their religion is almost the same with that of the Chinese, and was doubtless introduced amongst them whilst they were under their dominion. The chova, or king, and his court, the mandarins, and generality of the gran-

Sect of Confucius, of Fo, &c.

dees, and literati, follow the sect and doctrine of Confucius, whilst the rest of the people adopt those of Fo and Lao-kiun, and are wholly given up to the most stupid superstition. The former have neither temples, priests, nor settled worship, but as in China; so here they address the great tyen in various ways, as their reason, education, or the example of their betters, direct them. The latter, or idolaters, have their temples, and bonzas, or priests, which are divided into various classes, or ranks, answering to our primates, bishops, abbots, and common priests. The latter, likewise, are divided into secular and regular; the for-

Bonzas.

mer of whom have either lands or fish-ponds for their maintenance; the other subsist wholly upon the alms of superstitious people, and live in communities, under a superior, like the monks in the Romish church. They have some temples that excel the rest in beauty, largeness, and ornaments; but those are very few, in comparison of the

Temples mean and decayed.

rest, which are mostly built of wood and mud, thatched with straw; the idols, altars, and other idolatrous implements, displaying either the extreme poverty, or neglect of their priests and votaries.

Probably owing to the missionaries.

This may be probably owing to the success which the missionaries met with in this kingdom; where, according to their accounts, they had made myriads of converts.

Teach the immortality

They believe the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another; and though they are,

[n] Borri, Tavernier, De Rhodes, Baron, Homilton, & al. sup citat.

on

on that account, very averſe to killing or hurting any living creatures, like the generality of the Indians, they make no ſcruple to offer great quantities of hogs in ſacrifice to their gods, and to the manes of their anceſtors and near relations [o]. They have likewiſe a notion, that ſome of the ſouls of men, not being permitted to paſs into other bodies, become malignant ghoſts, and, in time, degenerate into evil ſpirits, or devils. *and tranſmigration of the ſoul.* *Apparitions and evil ſpirits.*

The government here is altogether deſpotic, the king having an abſolute power over the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, to make or abrogate the laws, to make peace or war, and to diſpoſe of all dignities and offices, both civil and military, in the kingdom, without conſulting any of his miniſters. He governs his provinces by his mandarins, appoints the members of their reſpective tribunals; and if any of them be found guilty of mal-adminiſtration, he immediately condemns them to ſome capital puniſhment. The misfortune is, that the complaints of his ſubjects find ſo very difficult a paſſage to the throne, that they ſeldom or never are able to reach it, though he is often pleaſed to give public audience to them at the gates of his palace, the place where he commonly ſits for the adminiſtration of juſtice. *Arbitrary government.*

There he always appears, mounted on a ſtately elephant, and ſeated in a kind of tower, ſumptuouſly adorned; but which none, not even thoſe who are admitted to prefer their ſuits or complaints, muſt approach nearer than at the diſtance of eighty paces, and convey their petitions to him by the hands of his eunuchs, either in writing, or by word of mouth. Whenever he appears in public, upon any other occaſion, every one is obliged to fall flat with his face on the ground. Whatever ſentence he paſſes from his tribunal of juſtice, is immediately executed, whether it be death, amputation of a limb, impriſonment, ſlavery, or other puniſhment. High-treaſon and rebellion are not only puniſhed with the moſt ſevere death, but often affects all the condemned perſon's relations with loſs of life, as well as fortune. *The king's manner of giving audience, and appearing in public.*

Theſe monarchs in general are very ſevere in the execution of their laws; but in the more remote provinces, where preſents operate efficacioufly, a capital puniſhment is often commuted for a fine [p]. *Severe puniſhments.*

Adultery is capitally puniſhed; the women is here con- *Adultery.*

[o] Borri, ibid. & al. ubi ſup. [p] Tavernier, Baron, De Rhodes, & al. ubi ſupr.

demned,

demned, as in Tong-king, to be trodden to death by an elephant, and her paramour to some more gentle death. Theft is punished with the loss of a finger, for the first and second fact; of an ear, for the third; and of the head, for the fourth. If a criminal flies to Tong-king for shelter, he is not only protected, but caressed; but if a Tonquinese comes hither, on the same errand, he is condemned to perpetual slavery [q].

Fugitives, how treated.

King's opulence, and revenue.

The kings of Kochin-china are very opulent, having several princes tributary to them, though they assume the royal title. The sovereign of Thiem pays him a certain number of elephants, and a quantity of calambac, wax, ivory, and other products. Those of Kamboja and Chiampa pay him a certain tribute for his protection; and even the wild people, called Kemoy, are forced to send him some wax, betel, and other produce of their mountains. He hath a vast quantity of odoriferous wood of various kinds, of gold dust, and elephants teeth; all which he sells to the foreign traders. He claims one third part of all the rice of his kingdom; and the governors of his provinces are allowed a ninth part of all the rest. Some provinces, which, by reason of their high situation, and dryness, do not abound with that grain, are indeed exempted from this tribute; but are obliged to furnish him with a certain number of horses, slaves, and odoriferous woods. And for these, and especially for the rice, he has large magazines in every province.

Tribute and presents.

Over and above these impositions, every man, from the age of eighteen to sixty, is obliged to pay him six crowns, and to work for him eight months in the year. Mandarinats, governments of sea-ports, and other places, are, in some measure, sold by him to the highest bidder; and the price of them commonly runs very high: besides, he receives considerable presents from them at certain times of the year, as well as upon other occasions, especially when they have cause to fear his displeasure; all which articles amount to vast sums yearly; and being added to the imposts which he lays on the Chinese, Japanese, and other foreign traders, bring him an immense yearly revenue. He is, moreover, heir to all the princes and nobles of the kingdom; and at their deaths takes possession of all their land; leaving only their moveable effects to be distributed among their children.

Inherits the lands of his nobles.

The land forces of this kingdom, amount to thirty thou-

[q] Hamilton, ubi supra vol. ii. ch. xlix. p. 212.

sand.

sand. As to their naval power, they have only gallies, of which the presumptive heir hath always the chief command. His whole force consisted in the year 1679, of a hundred and thirty-one sail. Each galley hath thirty oars on a side, three officers, six gunners, two steersmen, and two drummers. The soldiers are placed at each oar, and the officers at the head and stern. Each vessel is finely varnished on the outside with black, and the inside with red, and the oars are commonly gilt. The men row standing, and without speaking, their eyes fixed on the commander, who sits at the head, and receive the signal from him by the motion of his wand, as if he was beating time to a band of musicians. Every rower hath his arms by him, consisting of a musket, a dagger, a bow and arrows, and knows when and how to make use of them by the motion of the wand; so that every thing is executed with the utmost silence, order, and harmony; and though these gallies are not publicly exercised above three or four times a year, yet each captain hath always one of them before his gate, where his company comes every day to be exercised [a].

Their navy chiefly gallies.

Their weapons, &c.

Strict exercise.

Each galley hath a cannon fixed at its courses, and two small pieces on each side. There are a good number of expert gunners belonging to the navy, and the soldiery are said to be no less so at their fire-arms, though they have not as yet learnt the art of casting the one, or fabricating the other, like the Tonquinese [b]. Their mariners wear white silk trousers, and hair caps; but when they are going to engage, each man puts on a gilt head-piece and a waistcoat, so contrived that the right arm, shoulder, and side are always bare. Besides these royal gallies, which are commonly built very long and narrow, and seldom amount to less than a hundred or a hundred and fifty, all beautifully varnished and gilt, and otherwise embellished with sails and masts, after the Indian manner, they make use of a large sort of them, to which the English have given the name of millepides, from the vast number of their oars; these are chiefly employed in transporting of forces, heavy artillery, and other military stores.

How treated.

The millipedes.

The king's court, which usually resides at his capital of Kehue, is commonly very brilliant; but without the gaudy ornaments of silver or gold, which are so scarce, that a man who should be found to possess either, to the

The king's court.

Gold and silver scarce.

[a] De Rhodes, Baron, & al.

[b] See the History of that Kingdom in the sequel.

amount

amount of four or five hundred piasters, would be liable to punishment. All the officers and ministers, both civil and military, or at least the far greater part of them, are eunuchs, as they are at most Indian courts; and upon the same politic account, namely, that they having no children, the king may inherit their effects as well as their lands.

Ministers all eunuchs.

Palace described.

The palace is a large square pile of building, surrounded with a double wall, the first of timber and earth, and the other of stone. It hath besides several distinct courts within its cincture; so that one must pass through six or seven gates to arrive at the royal apartments, each gate being kept by a strong guard, and the outermost of all defended by three pieces of cannon. The whole pile is flanked on the right and left by sundry bulwarks, mounted with four hundred pieces of artillery of different sizes, some of brass, and others of iron. The king hath another palace, or rather a pleasure-house, not far from this, to which he frequently retires [c].

Artillery.

King's household.

The royal household, including the guards, is said to consist of nine thousand men; that of his eldest son, of five thousand; that of the second, of three thousand; and the third, of two thousand. We have already hinted that the land-forces amount to thirty thousand, of which the second son hath the command, as the eldest hath of the naval; but as they both reside most of their time at court with the king, the chief management of each is committed to two favourite eunuchs, or lieutenants, who have, nevertheless, the title of generals.

Army, by whom commanded.

Officers of it.

Next to them are the tyammetoos, or marshals of the kingdom, commonly three in number. The kayvats answer to our brigadiers, the kaydoi to our colonels, and the kay-dins to our captains. The king is not only present at their general musters and exercises, but gives audience to all the officers, both army and navy, twice a day.

Punishment for high treason.

Both army and navy are not only kept under a strict discipline, but are more severely punished than other subjects for every misdemeanor; and if any soldier or sailor is found guilty of revolting, or any other treasonable crime, he is condemned to be tied naked to a post, at the head of all the forces, and every soldier is obliged to come and cut off a piece of his flesh [d].

Weapons, dress, &c.

Their chief weapons are the musket and sword: the country furnishes them with the materials to make powder

[c] De Rhodes, Chevrier, & al. [d] De Rhodes, & al. sup. citat.

and

and ball, which they must afterwards fabricate for themselves. They had no cavalry in their wars till within these fifty or sixty years, when one of their kings was determined to raise two troops of fifty men each, by way of trial, and afterwards increased them to a regiment. Every common soldier is clothed in red, yellow, or green sattin, according to the colour of his regiment. The guards belonging to the king and princes of the blood appear in velvet, of divers colours, with their arms glistening with silver and gold; and the generals and other officers are allowed to have their cloaths embroidered with the same, more or less richly, according to their rank.

No cavalry till of late.

After all, their fighting is little else than sudden incursions, and skirmishes between opposite parties, whenever chance brings them together; on which occasion the Kochin-chinese have this advantage, that being better trained, they are not so easily disconcerted, or put to the rout as their enemies, who commonly betake themselves to flight after the first onset. As for decisive battles they are seldom or never heard of among them, notwithstanding their having been so many centuries at war with the Tonquinese [c]. If the Kochin-chinese have not hitherto aimed at enlarging their own dominions by new conquests, it is no small credit and honour to them that they have never wanted either power or valour to preserve them entire.

We shall in the sequel give an account how these monarchs came to shake off their subjection to those of Tong-king, and have ever since kept them in a state of inglorious dependency, without any other mark than the bare shadow and name of royalty, as we find this revolution recorded in the Tonquinese annals: but as those of the Kochin-chinese relate that remarkable transaction somewhat differently, we shall, in justice to them, submit their account of it to the reader.

Origin of their new monarchy.

About four centuries ago, one of the Tonquinese monarchs dying without issue, divided the kingdom between a brother and a sister, ordering his brother to reside in Kochin-china, as the most remote from court, and to take care of that government, whilst the sister should remain at Tong-king; enjoining them at the same time to have a meeting once a year to consult on the propereſt means for the good and preservation of both states. They had not long acted thus in conformity to their brother's injunc-

The cause of their revolt from the Tonquinese.

[c] Vide Chevrier, Baron, & al.

tions,

Treachery of a nobleman.

tions, when the princeſs thought fit to marry an ambitious nobleman, who quickly inſpired her with a deſire of engroſſing both governments into her hands, and for that purpoſe undertook to make away with her brother.

The ſiſter, though ſhe deteſted the ſcheme, ſeemed to approve of it; but immediately apprized her brother of his danger, and eaſily perſuaded him, under pretence of going a-hunting for a few days, to haſten with all poſſible ſpeed to Kochin-china; where he no ſooner arrived than he aſſembled the ſtates of that kingdom, and laid before them the treacherous deſigns which his unworthy brother-in-law had laid both againſt his life and their liberty. There needed no more to inſpire the Kochin-chineſe with the utmoſt abhorrence of the Tonquineſe uſurper and tyrant: they all took up arms in defence of their prince and his government, and ſwore never more to ſubmit to the Tonquineſe yoke, and to acknowlege the worthy brother and ſucceſſor of their late king as their lawful and only ſovereign. A bloody war immediately enſued between the two competitors. Each brought an army of between forty and fifty thouſand men to the banks of the river Kam-bin, which is the frontier between the two kingdoms. What the ſucceſs of it was we are not told; only it appears not to have been of conſequence enough to give any great advantage to one ſide above the other, ſeeing both have ſince kept their own dominions to themſelves; though there ſcarcely paſſes a year in which they do not make ſome incurſion into each other's territory. The mutual hatred of the monarchs quickly diffuſed itſelf among all their ſubjects, who ſince that rupture have broke off all friendſhip and commerce; and affect to diſplay a ſingular contempt for each other [f].

A war enſues.

Mutual hatred of both nations.

The iſles along theſe coaſts dangerous.

We muſt not omit to give a ſhort account of ſome of the moſt conſiderable iſlands belonging to this kingdom; the natives give them the name of Pullos, and there are a great number of them along the coaſt. As, 1. Pullo Secca, which is rocky, barren, and uninhabited. 2. Pullo Secca de Mare, a chain of barren and rocky iſlands, ſtretching from the dangerous ſhallows called Paracel. 3. Pullo Cambir, fifteen leagues from ſhore, large, but uninhabited. 4. Pullo Canton, lying near the ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance from that of Campello.

[f] De Rhodes, ubi ſupra, Tavernier, Baron, Dampier, Chevrier, Hamilton, & al. ſupra citat.

Pullo

Pullo Kondore, or Condore, is another close groupe, situate under the eighth degree of north latitude; the most considerable of which is about five leagues in length from east to west, and about one in breadth where widest. The next to it is about two leagues long; so advantageously situated, that it forms a kind of haven in conjunction with the other. These two islands are reckoned very convenient for those who sail to and from China, Japan, Manilla, Tong-king, and Kochin-china; and are chiefly inhabited by people who came from the last of those kingdoms, to which they are still subject. They are very poor, their chief employment being drawing of pitch or turpentine from the trees called damar, and selling it to the strangers that come, or carrying it to Kochin-china, in baskets made for that purpose; others get their living by catching tortoises, and other shell-fish, of which there are a great quantity and variety. All these islanders are so civil to strangers, that they bring their wives on board their ships, and prostitute them for a trifle [z].

Pullo Kondore described.

Their inhabitants;

Civility to strangers.

These islands are surrounded with such a number of shallows, rocks, and shelves, and shipwrecks happen so frequently in their neighbourhood, that the king of Cochin-china sends thither, at certain seasons of the year, a number of his gallies, together with some of the most expert divers in his kingdom to go in search of them, and recover part of their contents.

Wrecks dived for by the king's ships.

SECT. XII.

The History of the Kingdom of Tong-king.

THIS is the last country in the Farther Peninsula of India; tributary to the Chinese monarchs, like that of Kochin-china, and commonly called Tunkin, and Tunquin by the Europeans. It is bounded on the north and east by the Chinese provinces of Quang-si and Yun-nan; on the west, by the two small kingdoms of Law-chiva, which divide it from that of Siam on the south; on the south-east by Kochin-china and the gulf of its name, called also the gulf of Kochin-china, because it runs between them both. According to the latest accounts, Tong-king is supposed to stretch about three hundred and

Tong-king.

Boundaries.

Extent.

[z] Dampier Voy. vol. i. p. 194, & seq. Hamilton, in fin. vol. i. Hist. Smens. Chevrier, De Rhod. & al. supra citat.

seventy miles in length, and about two hundred and forty where broadest [b]. The vast bay on which it is situate extends from the point of Chiampa, in north latitude 12 deg. 14 min. to the province of Tenan in 27 deg. half min. Its breadth, where widest, that is from the continent to the island of Ho-nan, is reckoned twenty leagues by Dampier, and thirty by Marini. It hath between forty and fifty fathoms water in the middle, and affords every where a commodious and safe anchorage. Two large rivers, the Rockbo and Domea, the last so called from a town about six leagues above its mouth, flow into the gulf; the one two leagues farther northeast than the other, and open an entrance into the kingdom; but the latter is that which is most frequented by the Europeans, its mouth being much the larger and deeper of the two.

Gulf described.

Two bays.

Islands.

The farther end of the gulph hath a number of small islands; the most considerable of which is situate in 20 deg. 18 min. north latitude, and is called by the natives Twonbene, but by the Dutch the Isle of Robbers, were the Tonquinese have settled a custom-house, which brings in about a million of rix-dollars. Near the island, which is about two leagues long, and half a league wide, are two small bays; the farthest of which hath a pearl fishery belonging to the king.

Domea the first town.

The town of Domea above mentioned, is built on the right shore of the river of its name, and is the first that offers itself to the sight. The Dutch choose to anchor before it, but our English ships sail up a little higher, where the current is more gentle. The Domeans no sooner perceive an European ship coming up the river, than they set all hands to work in building booths, and filling them with all sorts of provisions and conveniences for their accommodation.

Accommodations to strangers.

Climate.

The climate of this kingdom, although it be just under the tropic, is yet reckoned so mild and temperate, that the whole year appears like a continual spring. They have only two winds that prevail for a continuance; the north and the south, which commonly blow six whole months alternately; the former from June or July to January, and the latter from January to July; but the most agreeable season in the whole year begins about September,

[a] Marini Relat. Tonquin. See also Dampier Supplem. p. 1, & seq. Tavernier, vol. iii. Baron, & al. mult.

and

and ends in March; during which the north wind blows almoſt without intermiſſion, and renders the climate healthy and temperate, but without producing either ice or ſnow. The rainy ſeaſon ſeldom begins before the month of April, and laſts only till Auguſt. This is indeed the moſt unhealthy part of the whole year, not only on account of the ſouth wind, and the violent rains that fall in great plenty, but likewiſe of the thick miſts and fogs; which the ſun, then in its zenith, draws up, and which oftentimes cauſe intolerable heats and acute diſeaſes. Yet all that while the country appears in its moſt vivid dreſs; the trees are covered with fruit and verdure, and the plains, if not with vines and corn fields, which this climate doth not yield, yet with plenty of rice, and variety of other products.

Subject to great floods.

The misfortune is, that the country, moſtly low and flat, is frequently overflowed by the violent rains, to ſuch a degree as to deſtroy in ſome meaſure a whole harveſt, and at times not coming down in ſufficient plenty to nouriſh the rice, which can only grow in water, a famine often enſues, that grain being the chief ſupport of all theſe eaſtern countries: ſo that whenever ſuch years of ſcarcity happen, the parents among the poorer ſort are forced to ſell their children for ſubſiſtence.

The country on the Chineſe ſide is defended by an impenetrable ridge of mountains, which extends from the ſea-ſide above one hundred and fifty leagues in land, along the frontiers of Quang-ſi and Quey-chew. Theſe mountains are covered with vaſt foreſts of trees, and filled with elephants, deer, tigers, and other wild creatures; whilſt the reſt of the country is beautifully variegated with fertile hills and vallies, and interſected with a great number of rivers; among which father Tiſſanier, a Jeſuit miſſionary, reckons twenty-eight which empty themſelves into the ſea. From theſe, and other inferior rivers which fall into them, the inhabitants cut a vaſt number of canals, not ſo much for the ſake of commerce, as to fertilize their numerous plains and paſture grounds.

Rivers.

The country is divided into eight provinces, or cantons. The firſt, called the Eaſtern, is bounded on the ſouth by the Tonquineſe gulf, on which are a number of iſlands under its juriſdiction. The ground is moſtly flat and fertile, and abounds with rice; but the inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fiſhery. The chief town of this

Provinces; Eaſtern.

province is called Heaw, but is very inconsiderable, though the largest of the whole canton [i].

Western. 2. The second, styled the Western, is mostly flat, and abounds with rich pasture grounds and fields of rice, but is thinly furnished with fruit and other trees.

Southern. The third, called the Southern, is formed into a kind of irregular island, partly by the sea, and partly by the two great branches of the Song-koy, or large river (A). It is very fruitful in rice, on account of its flat and low situation, but is likewise subject to inundations.

Northern. 4. The fourth, styled the Northern, is by far the largest of all, and comprehends the greatest part of the kingdom on that side, reaching quite to the Chinese frontiers on the east. It is partly flat and partly mountainous; the plain yields plenty of rice, and the other abounds with woods, forests, and wild beasts; and, among other trees, produces that of which they make their fine varnish, or japan.

Tenan. 5. The fifth, called Tenan, is but small in comparison of the rest, and its chief product is rice.

Ten hoa. 6. The sixth, called Ten-hoa, or Ten-hie, is bounded on the east by an arm of the Song-koy, and on the south by the gulf of Tong-king; its inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fishery, and drive a considerable commerce with their salt fish.

No-ghean. 7. The seventh, which is called No-ghean, borders on Kochin-china on the west; it extends a vast way northwards, and breeds vast numbers of cattle on its fat pasture grounds as well as great plenty of rice.

Cachao. 8. The eighth, called Cachao, Chaco, and Checo, is

Fertile soil. situated in the heart of the kingdom, and is surrounded by the other seven. Its soil is fertile, and in some parts mountainous, abounding with variety of trees, and particularly that of the varnish. Most of these provinces carry on some branch of the silk manufacture, more or less, but this last most of all. It takes its name from its capital, which is also the metropolis of the whole kingdom; though in other respects hardly comparable to a Chinese city of the third rank [k].

[i] Dampier, & al. ubi supra. [k] Idem, p. 20, & seq. Baron, & al.

(A) This is by far the most considerable river in this kingdom. It is said to have its rise among some of the Chinese mountains lately mentioned, and, after a long and winding course, to discharge itself by eight or nine branches into the gulf of Hay-nan.

Cachao

Cachao is situate under the 20th degree of north latitude, at about eighty leagues distance from the sea. Some authors make no scruple to rank it among the most considerable cities of Asia, both on account of its extent and the vast number of its inhabitants; but it will be found, on stricter enquiry, that the vast crouds of people which swarm in it are rather neighbouring villagers, that flock thither at times, but more especially on market-days, with their various commodities, and who so croud the streets that they are hardly passable. Upon which account several of the most considerable villages about it have been allowed to have their halls in particular parts of the city, where they dispose of their wares. The magistracy likewise takes care to preserve such good order among all the goers and comers, as to prevent any confusion. *Metropolis described.* *Thronged with people.*

As for the town itself, if we except the palace royal and the arsenal, it hath little else worth notice; the streets are neither regular nor handsome; the houses are low and mean, mostly built of wood and clay, and not above one story high. The magazines and warehouses belonging to foreigners are the only edifices built of brick. *Streets, &c.*

The chief palace of the chowa, or king, is situate in the center of the city, and surrounded with a stout wall, within whose circuit are seen a great number of apartments two stories high, whose fronts and portals have something of the grand taste; those of the chowa and his wives are embellished with a variety of carving and gilding after the Indian manner, and all finely varnished. In the outward court are a vast number of sumptuous stables for the king's elephants and horses; the inner courts are inaccessible not only to all strangers but even to his subjects, except those of the privy council and the chief ministers of state. The front wall hath a large gate, well ornamented, which is never opened but when the king goes in and out; but at some distance from it on each side there are two posterns, for the courtries and servants. This enclosure, which is of a vast circumference, is faced with brick within and without, and the whole structure is terminated by spacious gardens. *Royal palaces.* *Ponds, &c.*

The arsenal is a large building, well stored with warlike ammunition and artillery. It stands on the banks of the river Song-koy, on the branch which Dampier calls Domea, which he says is much the deeper and wider of the two [1]. *Arsenal.*

[1] Dampier, p. 20, & seq.

No walls or fortifications.

The metropolis of this kingdom hath neither walls nor fortifications, though it be the conſtant reſidence of the Tonquineſe monarchs, who have two other palaces, ſuch as they are, in it, beſides that already ſpoken of.

Streets poorly paved.

The principal ſtreets are airy and wide, but the reſt narrow, all of them paved, though few of them otherwiſe than with ſmall ſtones, aukwardly put together; a circumſtance which makes it very unpleaſant to walk through them, eſpecially in wet weather, when they are extremely dirty. Even in dry weather there are here and there ſome ditches of ſtagnated water and ſtinking mud, which are very offenſive to ſtrangers; yet upon the whole, its airy ſituation, and ſerene air, renders it healthy, and to the natives pleaſant enough; ſo that it is ſeldom, if ever, viſited with ſuch peſtilential diſeaſes, as are common in large cities of theſe eaſtern climes.

Subject to frequent fires.

From the combuſtibility of its edifices, it frequently ſuffers dreadful conflagrations. To prevent the ſad conſequences of theſe calamities, every houſe hath, either in its yard, or even in its center, ſome low building of brick, in form of an oven, to which the inhabitants, on the leaſt intimation of a fire, convey their moſt valuable effects. Beſides this precaution, the government obliges every family to keep a ciſtern, always full of water, on the top of the houſe, to be ready on all occaſions of this nature; as likewiſe a long pole and bucket, to throw water upon the houſe.

Precaution againſt them.

Engliſh factory-houſe.

The houſe belonging to the Engliſh is ſituate on the north ſide of the city, fronting the river. It is handſome, though low built, with a ſpacious dining-room in the center, and on each ſide are the apartments of the merchants, factors, and ſervants. At each end of the building are ſmaller houſes, for other uſes, which form two wings, with the ſquare in the middle, and parallel with the river, near the bank of which ſtands a flag-ſtaff, on which they commonly diſplay the Engliſh colours on Sundays, and all other remarkable days. Adjoining to it, on the ſouth ſide, is the Daniſh factory, which is neither ſo large nor ſo convenient [m].

No cities in the kingdom.

Cachaw is the only city in the whole kingdom. That of Domea, though the next in rank, is hardly worth notice, being a large ſcattered town, or rather village; and ſo we may ſay of all the reſt. The town of Heau hath nothing remarkable but a palace belonging to a popiſh

[m] Dampier, ubi ſupra, p. 45, & ſeq.

biſhop,

biſhop, who is a Frenchman, in which are alſo lodged ſome miſſionaries, of the ſame nation. The biſhop, who is interdicted from ſettling at, or even coming to, the city of Cachao, commonly reſides in this town, which lies in the road to that metropolis, and hath ſeveral wherries conſtantly going up to it with the tide, containing ſome ten, ſome twenty paſſengers, beſides the rowers and other lading [n]. *Popiſh biſhop's palace.*

The greateſt part of the fruit-trees on Tong-king, are affirmed to exceed all the reſt of Aſia in the flavour, beauty, and excellency of their fruit, but eſpecially the palm and orange tree, of a large kind; but their citrons are reckoned very unwholeſome, and the juice of them, in ſome caſes, is uſed inſtead of aqua fortis, for dying callicoes. The Tonquineſe are careful to furniſh their gardens with plenty of potatoes, yams, and onions; and their orchards with plantains, bananas, mangos, limes, cocoa-nuts, pine-apples, and other ſuch eſculent fruits. Their woods likewiſe abound with timber-trees, for building either ſhips or houſes [o]. *Some excellent fruits.* *Garden-ſtuff.*

The betel, in ſuch vogue all over India, in the leaf of which a ſlice of areck nut being wrapped up, is chewed with ſo much delight, is here found in great plenty, and offered as a great compliment, even to ſtrangers. Every man carries his box full of thoſe leaves, ready for uſe; and it would be looked upon as a high affront to refuſe it when offered, as it would be likewiſe to take it with the left, inſtead of the right hand. They commonly ſend it as a preſent, when they diſpatch their ſervants on any complimenting errand; for which the perſon ſent to, ſeldom fails of making ſome gratification to the meſſenger. They eſteem it as a pleaſant opiate; but value it ſtill more, as a preſerver of the teeth and gums. *The betel much in vogue.*

Theſe woods abound with the ſame ſpecies of wild beaſts, found in other parts of India and China; and their elephants are reckoned the largeſt and nimbleſt in all Aſia. They have plenty, and great variety, of fowl, both wild and tame, which conſtitute their uſual food at all their feaſtings, though at other times they eat ſparingly of fleſh; contenting themſelves with their boiled rice, herbs, roots, dried fiſh, and pickled eggs. *Their diet.*

They have here a ſtrange kind of mice, or rather bat, about the bigneſs of a pullet, with wings about a foot and an half long; they commonly make their neſts on filbert, *A ſtrange kind of mice.*

[n] Dampier, ubi ſupra, p. 99, & ſeq. [o] Baron, Hamilton, & al.

piſtachio, and other nut-trees, whoſe fruit is their chief diet, and gives their fleſh a fine reliſh. Theſe creatures are preferred to any fowl, even by the Portugueſe.

Liquors. Their common drink is a kind of tea, which they call chia-bang, or chaw-bang; the leaves of which, boiled in water, yield a tincture of a reddiſh-brown, not unlike

Two ſorts of tea. the ordinary Chineſe bohea. It is not only ſtrong and coarſe, but very diſtaſteful to ſtrangers, becauſe they drink it without ſugar; but in their merry meetings they

Arrak, and other wine. commonly mix it with arrak, and drink to intoxication [p]. They have another ſort of tea much pleaſanter than the former, made of the flower of the plant; which being dried, hath a very grateful flavour and taſte, when infuſed or boiled in water; and this they call chaw-way.

Inhabitants deſcribed. The Tonquineſe are generally of a tawny colour; their faces are oval, and moſtly flattiſh: their hair is black,

Black teeth. long and lank. They are at great pains to dye their teeth black; and whilſt the operation laſts, they take no other nouriſhment than ſome chaw, or other ſuch liquid, and that but ſparingly, leſt ſome of the dye, which is of a poiſonous nature, ſhould mix with their food, and endanger their health. They are naturally healthy and robuſt,

Manufactures. nimble and active, dexterous and ingenious in their ſeveral manufactures, ſuch as that of ſilk, cotton, lacquering,

Populouſneſs and poverty. great quantities of all which are yearly exported. Nevertheleſs, their country is ſo very populous, that vaſt numbers of its inhabitants labour under the moſt extreme poverty, for

Vaſt itch of gaming. want of employment: but what contributes principally to their indigence, is the univerſal itch of gaming which reigns among them all, rich and poor, maſters and ſervants, whilſt they have any thing left to hazard; and when money, goods, and their very cloaths, are loſt, they will ſtake even their wives and children [q].

It is not improbable that the Tonquineſe have received this infection of gaming from the Chineſe, who are very numerous in this country; and amongſt whom that vice reigns, if poſſible, in a higher degree. They have likewiſe contracted, like them, a ſhameful habit of indolence and idleneſs; and finally they are loaded with grievous taxes by the government.

The men's dreſs. Their dreſs conſiſts of a long robe, reaching down to the heels, tied about the middle with a girdle or ſaſh, commonly embroidered, among thoſe of the better ſort, with gold and ſilver; but the habit of the ſoldiers, and

[p] Dampier's Supplem. p. 64. [q] Idem, p. 41, & ſeq.

com-

common people, reaches no lower than the knees, as the breeches, and drawers do to the mid-leg, and are commonly of cotton; but the nobility, and persons of rank, affect to go in rich silks, or fine English broad cloaths, mostly either red or green. Their heads are covered with long caps of the same stuff with their gowns; but those of the lower rank go commonly bare-headed, except the fishermen and labourers, whose business obliges them to wear broad brimmed hats made of rushes, straw, or palmetto leaves.

Go bare-foot.

Their ancient laws obliged all but the king to go bare-foot; however, the literati, and since them the grandees, claim a privilege of wearing sandals; but the greatest ornament of both, is that of their long nails [r].

That of the women.

The dress of the women differs little from that of the men; but it is rather more grave, excepting on grand festivals, when they strive to adorn themselves with the richest habits and ornaments. On other occasions, their women affect much gravity in their dress and behaviour. Their long robes come close about their necks, and hang down to their heels. They wear large hats, like those of the fishermen, but made of richer stuff, and more curiously embroidered, which they also tie under their chin, and use as a kind of umbrella. Whilst this kingdom was under the dominion of the Chinese monarchs, both men and women were obliged to tuck up their hair in token of subjection; but after they had recovered their liberty, and began to have their own kings, both sexes agreed to wear it hanging about their shoulders, as a mark of their freedom. Their bonzas, or priests, who have their heads shaved all over, make a kind of jest of their long hair, pretending that it is of no other use than to help their deities to draw men of little merit up to heaven.

Why they wear long hair.

The dress of the bonzas, and of their wives.

They wear on their head a round cap, about three inches high; behind which hangs a piece of the same cloth, and colour, which comes down over their shoulders. Some of them wear a kind of doublet, striped or flowered, with glass beads of various colours, artfully strung and sown upon it. The female bonzas appear much in the same kind of dress, except that, instead of a round cap, they adorn their heads with a kind of tiara, bespangled with variety of beads of various colours [s].

[r] Hamilton, Baron, & al. [s] Marini, ubi supra, c. ii.

The

Their language, &c. writing, arts, &c.

The Tonquinese appear to have received their principal arts, sciences, and politeness, from the Chinese; even their language, if we may believe Dampier [t], hath a very great affinity with the vulgar Chinese, or Fokyan dialect, consisting, like that, of a vast multitude of monosyllables, whose significations are distinguished by the variety of tones and accents with which they are pronounced, only the Tonquinese abounds more with gutturals, and hath as great a number of those called dentals, which the Europeans find a great difficulty to pronounce. The courtiers, nobles, and literati, however, affect the more polite Chinese, which is less rough and uncouth.

Writing and characters.

They have the same way of writing that is used in China, and in all probability learned it from them. The characters to all appearance are the same, written in the same way by columns, and with the same instruments. Their paper is of the same make, either of silk or the bark of trees, all of their own manufacture; and their writing and printing appear in all respects as neat and beautiful as that of the Chinese. They have schools in every village, where children are taught to read and write, but no superior colleges for the arts and sciences. They are not indeed so expert in the mathematics as the Chinese, nor do they seem to have the same genius and inclination to them, but have a particular fondness for music and poetry; but their most admired literati are those who are best versed in morality, and in their laws: these apply themselves in general to the writings of Confucius and other Chinese philosophers: for we do not find that they have any eminent writers of their own in that way, though many distinguished professors and proficients, and these are held in the highest esteem, who, for want of public established schools, teach their students in houses of their own, or at their own homes, as the parents and they agree. The same method is followed by the teachers of rhetoric, poetry, and music; and it is by those professors that the youth are examined and advanced from one degree or class to a higher [u].

No public schools for learning.

Sciences, how taught.

Three degrees of literati.

First Syn de.

There are three of these classes, through which these students must pass before they can be qualified for any great posts in the government. The first is called syn-de; the second, dow-cum; and the third, tan-si. To become a graduate to the first, they must have learned rhe-

[t] Dampier, ubi supra, p. 59, & seq. [u] Ibid. Tavernier, Marini, & al. supra citat.

toric,

toric, in order to be fit for the offices of notaries, proctors, advocates. If they go well through their examination, they are immediately registered and presented to the king, who gives them leave to assume the title of syn-de; but, if found defective, they are dismissed as unqualified.

Second, dow-cum.

To acquire that of dow-cum, they must study five years, till they have learned music, poetry, and mathematics; which last chiefly consists in some skill in astronomy and astrology.

Third, tan-si.

From the dow-cum they may rise in four years more to the third or uppermost degree, called tan-si, by bestowing that time on the study of the laws, politics, and customs of the Chinese; they are examined in presence of the king, by a great number of nobles and gentlemen of that class, assisted by mandarins and counsellors. Being found qualified, the candidate is conveyed to a scaffold erected for that purpose, clothed with a rich vest of purple sattin, given by the king; and his name is written in large characters on tablets, hung up at the palace gate. Then he is enrolled among the tan-sies, and has a certain appointment according to his quality, merit, or the king's favour, till he is raised to the mandrinate, or some other post in the government [w].

How raised to the last and public posts.

Diseases and their cures.

All their medical science consists in the knowlege of a number of herbs, roots, gums, and other vegetables, the use and preparation of which is copiously treated of in some of their books; but is more commonly attained by experience and specific receipts, which the practitioners, who are at once doctors, apothecaries, and surgeons, pretend to be masters of, together with a more than ordinary skill in pulses. Fevers, especially of the purple kind, dysenteries, colics, jaundice, and the small-pox are the chief and most dangerous distempers the Tonquinese are liable to; as to gout, stone, and gravel, they are scarcely known amongst them; the others they commonly cure by diet-drinks, and a good regimen: when these prove ineffectual, they have recourse to topical applications, as cupping, cauterizing, either with Indian moxa, or even with hot irons; and sometimes, though rarely, bleeding as near as can be to the part affected, either with a sharp bone, not unlike our farriers fleams, struck into the vein by a stroke of the finger, or else by a puncture with a kind of fine needle [x]. The Tonquinese

Bleeding and cupping.

[w] Dampier, Tavernier, Marini, & al. sup. citat. [x] Kæmpfer. Hist. of Japan, ubi sup. Dampier, Baron, & aliis.

fre-

frequently cure the purple or spotted fever by raising a small blister on some of the spots with a lighted match or rush; which blister breaking, they imagine the malignant effluvia escapes.

Doctors very ignorant, and great boasters and astrologers.

Upon the whole, the people are timorous and superstitious to a high degree, and the physicians very ignorant, and very great cheats. Astrology is always consulted, not only in sickness, but even on the most trivial occasions; and they will suffer their patients to run the hazard of their lives, rather than administer any thing to them on an unlucky day, or under what they deem an inauspicious aspect of the planet.

Mechanic arts improved.

The Tonquinese are indeed more ready and expert in manual arts, which they have much improved by the help of the Chinese families, who have taken refuge amongst them during the former troubles and civil wars of that kingdom. We have already hinted something concerning their silk and cotton manufactures, and that of their japan-work, or lacquer-varnish, in all which they are little inferior to their masters; to which we may add that of their porcelaine, in which they would be no less successful, had they the same encouragement and flourishing trade for them that the Chinese have.

Artillery cast by them.

They have acquired some skill in metals, and even cast artillery; they likewise fabricate fire-arms, with a variety of other ingenious tools and utensils in metals, and have an excellent way of preparing and mixing the earth in which they cast their cannon [y].

Goods imported and exported in foreign bottoms.

The Tonquinese do not trade for themselves, nor export any of their merchandize in their own bottoms; nor have they indeed any vessels fit for these rough seas; so that most of their wares are imported and exported by strangers. Those imported are saltpetre, sulphur, broadcloths, and other woollen stuffs, spices, lead, guns, and cash; we do not find that they have any money of their own, but make use of that which is brought thither by strangers, together with the small copper coin which they have from China, and which they exchange with them at a great disadvantage for foreign silver [z].

Their coin.

Fairs and markets.

Their inland commerce is mostly carried on by water, and by the help of their numerous rivers and canals, and of the many markets and fairs which are appointed by the government; the most considerable of which are those

y Dampier, ubi sup. p. 70. z Tavern. Marini, Dampier, Hamilt. Baron, &c.

held

held every new and full moon at their metropolis of Cachao. Other towns have likewise their fairs and markets, but with this difference, that six of these are joined together in one charter, and hold their own each in their turn.

Their religion.

The Tonquinese have adopted the two chief religions which reign in China, that of their great philosopher Confucius, and that of Fo, which was brought from India into China; a full account of both which will be more properly seen in the Chinese history. Only thus much may be said here concerning the former, or philosophic sect and doctrine, that the Tonquinese doctors value themselves highly on their having purged it from a great number of superfluous niceties, with which the literati of China had clogged the reading and interpretation of that great philosopher's writings, as well as from a vast variety of superstitious customs and observances, which continue still in full force among the learned of that empire. With respect to this sect, the whole of their religion consists in a profound veneration for the god or king of heaven; in paying some private honours to their ancestors; and in the practice of all moral virtues.

Sect of Confucius.

Their tenets, rites, and worship.

They have neither temples nor priests, nor any settled form of outward worship, but every one pays his adoration to the supreme Being in the manner he thinks best. They also believe in a lower rank of subaltern spirits, to whom they pay an inferior kind of worship, such as they imagine is most acceptable to them, and most likely to procure their favour. Most of this philosophic sect hold the world to be eternal, and all the souls of men to be immortal; but some of them suppose that immortality, and the bliss attending it in another life, to belong only to those of the just, whilst those of the wicked perish with the body. This we may properly style the religion of the court and of the learned, of which their monarchs, whilst they were absolute and independent, were the chiefs or head, and claimed alone the privilege of sacrificing to the great Tyen, as the Chinese emperors do in their own dominions, whether on certain state festivals, or in times of public calamities. At present the Tonquinese chovas, or kings, though tributary to those emperors, still retain that privilege, and perform that office in their own palaces; where they offer up their victims upon particular occasions, but especially in calamitous times.

Sacrifices.

The sect of Fo.

The other, or the sect of Fo, which hath spread itself through the greatest part of India, as far as Siam, China, and

and Japan, is chiefly profeſſed by the common people, and is ſubdivided into a variety of branches, the principal of which is that of Lanzo, or Lan-thu; whoſe founder, a Chineſe, is pretended to have been one of the greateſt magicians in all the Eaſt. They are all, however, agreed in worſhipping a great number of deities, to whom they erect ſtatues and temples; not indeed ſo ſtately and magnificent as they are in other parts of India: on the contrary, they are low and mean, deſtitute of every ornament except their ſtatues; which, inſtead of being placed on a ſumptuous altar, are either ſet upon a bench, or hang down from ſome of the croſs-beams to which they are faſtened. Theſe temples are commonly of an oblong form, open on all the four ſides, and their floors, moſtly of plain boards, are raiſed ſome feet above the ground; not ſo much for grandeur, as to keep them above water during the time of their land-floods.

Lan-thu the founder of their mean temples.

Poor prieſts.

They are ſerved by two ſorts of prieſts, called bonzas and ſays, a ſet of lazy drones and horrid cheats, who live chiefly on the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the populace. Their houſes, or rather huts, are built in the neighbourhood of their pagodas, where they ply the laity who come with petitions to their idols. The bonzas make long proſtrations, and burn incenſe before them; and for this their votaries pay them with two or three handfuls of rice, a ſmall quantity of betel, or other ſuch inconſiderable trifles.

Living.

They live in extreme poverty, and are held in great contempt by the better ſort of people, who, rather than encourage them in their ſloth, by reſorting to their pagods to offer up their petitions, cauſe that ceremony to be performed in ſome of the open courts about their own houſes, by one of their own domeſtics; who lying proſtrate before the idol, reads his maſter's petition, and afterwards flings it into the fire on which the incenſe is burning, together with three or four pieces of gilt paper [a].

Ceremonies to their idols.

The ſect of tay-bou-to-ni.

To theſe two ſects we may add that called tay-bou-to-ni, a ſort of conjurers who pretend to cure diſtempers by charms, and other magical tricks, and are in great requeſt among the Tonquineſe. Being conſulted in caſe of diſtreſs, they perſuade the people that the diſtemper is inflicted by ſome earthly or watery demon, and cannot be cured but by proper charms, of which they alone pretend to have the true ſecret. The ſuppoſed conjurer, diſguiſed

[a] Dampier, vol. i. p. 396, & ſeq. Baron Collect. of Voyages. Tavernier, & al.

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in an odd fantaſtic dreſs, begins his charms with the ſound of trumpets, kettle-drums, baſſoons, and braſs pans, to prevent the words which he ſpeaks on the occaſion from being heard by the by-ſtanders, ringing himſelf a hand-bell, to add ſtill more to the horrid ſound: he continues dancing, leaping, turning and winding to the ſame tune, till he perceives ſome ſymptoms in his patient, either of ſpeedy recovery, or death: if the latter, he is never deſtitute of ſome plauſible excuſe for his pretended diſappointment; either he was not ſent for ſoon enough, or the ſpirit or demon which inflicted the diſeaſe was too much exaſperated againſt the patient to be entreated or appeaſed by any charm. *Manner of curing their patients.*

Beſides the claſs above mentioned, there is another called taydelis, whoſe province is to direct the living to the choice of the propereſt and moſt favourable places for depoſiting the bodies of their deceaſed friends. The funeral obſequies are reckoned amongſt them ſo eſſential a part of their religion, that however one ſect may differ from another in other points, that of making a proper choice of a burying-place is looked upon by them all as an indiſpenſible duty; and next to that, the viſiting of thoſe places at proper ſeaſons, and furniſhing them with variety of eatables, and other conveniencies which their ſouls may ſtand in need of. This cuſtom was probably introduced by the Chineſe, who, as we ſhall ſhew in a future volume, are ſo ſcrupulous in the performance of this duty, that their very emperors are not exempt from it [b]. *Funeral rites brought hither from China.*

When the diviners are once come to an agreement about the important point, the funeral pomp immediately follows. The mourners appear in coarſe habits, and tattered ſhoes, or even barefoot. They follow the corpſe in a ſtooping poſture, leaning upon a ſtaff, as if weakened with exceſſive grief. The women have their heads and faces covered with a veil of the ſame coarſe ſtuff, and join the men in loud and bitter lamentations. The neareſt of kin to the deceaſed, often proſtrate themſelves before the bier during the march, and ſuffer even the bearers to trample upon them as they lie. *Funeral march.*

The Tonquineſe are extremely ſolicitous to procure the beſt coffins that their circumſtances will allow; and will, at any rate, make ſure of them ten or twenty years before-hand, and preſerve them in their houſes as the *Purchaſe their coffins long before.*

[b] Dampier, Baron, Tavernier, Marini, Tiſſanier, & al. ſupra citat.

moſt

most valuable part of their furniture. These are commonly made of the best and most durable wood, very thick and strong, nicely painted, and glued with the strongest cement, but without nails[q]. The deceased are generally attired with the best garments they wore when alive; the men have seven, and the women nine suits one upon another. They put besides some small pieces of gold or silver, or even some small pearls, or pearl-seed, in the mouths of the rich; and, those of the poorer sort, some bits of copper, brass, bugles, or other trinkets, which they think will be of service to them in the other world, and prevent them from troubling the living with their complaints. It is likewise with the same view that they have stated times to visit their graves, and offer variety of victuals, perfumes, pieces of gilt paper, and other presents, of which the souls, they think, come and take as much as they want: the rest is given to the poor.

Cloathing of the deceased.

Tonquinese festivals.

The Tonquinese have a singular fondness for festivals, though their religion hath little or no share in the greater part of those which are observed amongst them. The two principal feasts are, the new-year and the beginning of the sixth moon, which commonly happens soon after the harvest. The first usually falls some days before or after the first of January, and lasts a whole month. The first day of it is spent in a kind of gloomy retirement, the houses and windows are kept closely shut, not a foul stirs in or out, and the people within scarcely dare to speak to or see another; not out of any devotion, but from a superstitious fear lest they should see or meet some person, or other creature, or object of ill omen, to trouble all the joy and alacrity of the whole festival, or prove the forerunner of some great misfortune. The day being once happily over, all the rest of the festival is spent in visitings and entertainments; in public and private diversions; the streets are adorned with decorations, particularly stages, at proper distances, on which are acted plays, or other representations, by male and female actors brought up to that kind of licentious life.[r] These usually appear well dressed, and are very expert, some at dancing, others at singing, leaping, swinging, and other exercises. Citizens and country-people croud the streets, all in their best apparel; nothing is heard but the sounds of various instruments, vocal music, and shouts of joy. The women

New-year.

The festivity of it.

[q] Vide Tavernier, Marini, Tissanier, & al. supra citat. [r] Collect. of Travels, Marini, Dampier, & al. ubi supra.

are

are allowed to appear adorned with all their jewels, and finery; some in chaises, others in sedans, or other carriages according to their rank, and always attended with some kind of escorte to keep them from insult.

During the whole festival, there is a total stop to all labour, commerce, and public affairs; the great seals of the kingdom are locked up in a strong box; the tribunals and inferior courts of justice are shut up; no debts can be demanded, nor wrongs or violence rectified or punished, till the conclusion of the festivity permits every thing to resume its usual course.

The sixth moon.

The second festival, which begins with the sixth moon, is kept with the same general gaiety, though not with equal sumptuousness, and hath nothing particular worth our notice. Besides those two, they observe the new and full moons, that is, the first and fifteenth day of every moon, as days of feasting and mirth; for we read of nothing like any religious rites peculiarly adapted to any of them.

New and full moons.

The most magnificent of all are those which the kings and grandees observe at the respective anniversaries of their nativity, inauguration, and marriages, &c. These are always accompanied with the most splendid entertainments of music, plays, dancing, and other diversions.

Two others, public ones, whence and how kept.

To these Baron adds two others not mentioned by any other author; the one named Kan-ja, and the other Tek-kida. On the first the bova, or king, appears abroad, attended with his whole court, and great multitudes of soldiers and people, and blesses the fruits of the earth; and, after the example of the Chinese monarchs, from whom this laudable custom probably came [a], repairs to a particular spot of ground, where, for the greater encouragement of agriculture, which is not so well cultivated as in China, he puts his hand to a plough ready prepared for that purpose, and drives it a little way; then he gives his courtiers a kind of rural treat. This solemnity is preceded by a general fasting and prayers, by way of preparation.

Two other great festivals.

The other, called Tek-kida is kept with the same solemnity; and is a kind of exorcism, by which they pretend to drive away all the malevolent spirits out of the kingdom. The whole militia, or forces of the state, have a right to assist at the ceremony; but for that very reason the bova, or natural prince, is not suffered, by his chova, or

[a] Dampier, Baron, & al. sup. citat.

usurper of his crown, to be present at it, lest he should take the opportunity of such a vast number of his subjects appearing in arms to suppress his tyrannic power, and recover his liberty and regal prerogative.

for the dead. The last kind of festivals worth notice, are those observed at the tombs of their ancestors, on the anniversary of their decease; in which they are no less punctual and costly than the Chinese; and seem to outvie them in the profusion of meat, which they bring on those occasions to their sepulchres [b].

Private ones, how kept. Their other private or domestic festivals, as birth or wedding-days, are accompanied with other diversions, besides those of eating, drinking, dancing, and music; and are commonly concluded, like those of the new and full moons, with plays, or theatrical representations of sea or land fights. On all kinds of public festivals the nobles are very fond of cock-fighting, a diversion much in esteem at court, and in which great sums are won and lost [c].

Plays and sports.

Weddings, how celebrated. With respect to marriage, the application is made to the parents, and not to the damsels, who never see their spouses till they are led to their houses in grand procession, accompanied by the relations of both parties; but we do not find that the priests have any hand in the ceremony, or share in the marriage feasting.

Divorce allowed. A man may have several wives, but only one is governess over the rest. He hath likewise power to repudiate them upon any dislike; but they cannot be divorced from him without his consent. The divorced wife is entitled to carry off all she brought with her, and all that her husband had given her at her marriage; but if she hath had any children by him, she leaves them with him: and this privilege, in favour of the wife, is one principal cause why divorces are less frequent here than in other parts of India. The divorce is performed by breaking one of the two sticks which he and she used at table, and sewing the pieces up in two several bags, one of which he keeps, and gives her the other. He gives her, besides, a kind of inventory, in which the particulars of what she is entitled to carry off with her, are mentioned.

The ceremony of it.

Adultery how punished Adultery is severely punished in the wife, though not in the husband. The woman is condemned to be trampled to death by an elephant. Her paramour is likewise

[b] Dampier, Baron, & al. [c] Dampier, p. 100, & seq. Baron Collect. & al.

capi-

capitally punished, though not with so severe a death. As for the inheritance of children, the eldest son commonly carries off the largest share, as being now the master of the family, and endowed with a parental authority. The rest he distributes at his pleasure among his brothers and sisters.

Christianity introduced into the kingdom.

Christianity was planted here in the year 1626, by the Jesuit Baldinoty, and met with such success, that in four years the government thought fit to banish him and his colleagues to Ma-kau. This severity did not deter the society from sending three new missionaries the very next year, who made such progress amongst those idolaters, that above eighty thousand were converted before the year 1639. This plentiful harvest encouraged fresh supplies to come yearly to their assistance, by whose means their converts increased to such a prodigious degree, that they had already built above two hundred churches at their own charge, in the several provinces of the kingdom.

Proscribed, persecuted, and abolished.

This astonishing success proved their ruin. After several dreadful persecutions raised against them by the government, an edict was at length issued from the king and council, anno 1721, by which the Christian religion was utterly proscribed; the missionaries, and their catechists, were imprisoned, and put to sundry tortures and deaths; others condemned to attend the elephants, a slavery worse than that of the gallies; their churches were all demolished, or turned to profane uses; the profession of Christianity was forbidden under the severest penalties; and all the frontiers and avenues were diligently guarded by the soldiery, to prevent any more European preachers from entering the Tonquinese dominions.

Their government

The Tonquinese, after many revolutions and changes in their government, regained their ancient constitution, under the administration of their own native natural princes, who were become likewise kings of Kochin-china, as well as of this kingdom. They were absolute and independent in both, and committed the administration to two prime ministers or generals, with an almost unlimited authority. A dangerous delegation which ended, at length, in an open revolt against their common sovereign. The Kochin-chinese general, being at a greater distance from his court, first ventured to lead the way, and his colleague of Tong-king soon followed his example. Having made himself master of the royal revenue, and the army, he seized on his prince's person, con-

overturned by the general.

fined him prisoner in his own palace; and, without making any farther attempt upon his life, took the whole authority into his own hands. From that time the bovas, or rightful sovereigns, have had little else than the name and shadow of royalty; whilst the general, or prime-minister hath engrossed all the power and wealth of the kingdom, excepting only the royal title of bova, which neither he, nor any of his successors have dared to assume, for fear of the people, who still retain an unalterable regard for their princes. Upon which account the usurpers have thought it more expedient to content themselves with their old title of chova, or generalissimo.

The king stript of his power by the chova.

The bovas, stript of all their authority, are obliged to lead an indolent life within the precincts of the palace, surrounded continually with a great number of spies, employed by the chovas. They never stir out but once a year, on the grand festival of Can-ja, when they go to bless the fruits of the earth, and plow some small piece of ground; an office which the chovas have not yet dared to wrest out of their hands, as being held sacred, and the peculiar privilege of the natural monarchs. Another inconderable branch of the royal prerogative they are still permitted to exercise, namely, that of ratifying and confirming all the decrees and ordinances of the chova, with their seal and sign manual. This form of government hath subsisted above two hundred years, without any sensible alteration. The bovas still retain the form of royalty, whilst the chovas engross all the revenues, homage, and obedience of the subjects.

Kept prisoner in his palace.

The succession how settled.

Both dignities are hereditary in each of the respective families; but with this difference, that the office of chova descends in a direct line to his eldest son; whereas he can, upon the demise of the bova, not only name which of his children he pleases to succeed him, but can appoint any collateral branch, as a brother, or a nephew of the deceased monarch, or even a more distant branch, to be his successor, provided he be of the antient royal family of Li[d].

His court deserted,

The bova is not allowed any guards, or retinue, except that of a number of spies, which the latter appoints to be about his person; so that the chief diversion and amuse-

[d] Dampier, Tavernier, Merini, Hamilton, & al. Recueil de Lettre edifiant, vol. 18. p. 122. vol. 24, p. 96, & seq.

ment

ment of his life is confined to the company of his wives and children. He is not suffered to be visited by any nobles, or officers of the kingdom, except on the new and full moons, when they are admitted to pay a kind of homage to him, to wish him a prosperous and long life, and a numerous male issue; the failure of which is still looked upon by his subjects as the greatest calamity that can befall them. The chova often accompanies them on these public occasions; and, to all outward appearance, seems to join in the general good wishes, and pays him the most profound respect, pretending to take the administration of the public affairs of his dominions, merely to ease him of a heavy burden, unbecoming his royal dignity.

except on festivals.

On the other hand, the chova's palace is perpetually crouded, not only with his own creatures, but with a variety of strangers, Indians as well as Europeans. He hath likewise a numerous guard, both of horse and foot, besides three hundred elephants, always in readiness to attend him. To these we may add an army of thirty thousand foot, which keep constant garrison in his metropolis; and another of between seventy or eighty thousand, dispersed in other parts of the kingdom; whose chief officers are obliged to reside, by turns, some part of the year at court. Besides, he is attended by all the governors of the several provinces, the mandarins, and other officers of the kingdom; for he alone hath the power of bestowing those great posts; so that, from the highest to the lowest, they are all his dependents, and wholly devoted to his service, and very assiduous in paying their court to him, as often as they are permitted to be absent from their respective posts.

That of the chova crouded.

Guards.

Vast power.

Every one of the six provinces is provided with a governor, who hath under him a mandarin, the chief judge, in all causes, civil and criminal. But there is one superior tribunal in every province, which depends wholly on the council of the chova; the governor judges in chief in all criminal causes, but cannot inflict a capital punishment, till the sentence hath been confirmed by this council.

Governors and other officers.

The far greater part of their laws they received from the Chinese, when they were conquered by them about the middle of the twelfth century. Upon the whole, we do not find the courts of judicature in Tong-king are less liable to corruption than those of their neighbours;

Laws liable to be corrupted.

provided a man has but money enough to bribe his judge, he need not despair of impunity, let his crime be what it may.

Wife and concubines.

The chova hath commonly a vast number of concubines, but defers his marriage till the latter end of his life; the reason of which strange policy is, that he is obliged to marry a princess of the royal blood, but is unwilling that the succession to his dignity should return to any of that family, though by a female line, lest it should prove in time a means of excluding his own; therefore he is always succeeded by the first born son of his concubines. However, for decency's sake, he sets that princess above them all, and gives her the title of mother of the *kingdom*. The concubine who brings him the first son, is the next in rank, and hath the title of Dua-ba, or *excellency*, and her son, as presumptive heir, hath that of Chu-va, or *young general*; the rest of his male children are styled Du-kong, or *excellent men*, and the females, Batuas, or *princesses*[e].

Queen and children's titles.

Numerous army.

His army consists of a hundred and fifty thousand men, among which are eight or ten thousand horse; but he can upon any occasion augment it to double the number. The Tonquinese are but indifferent soldiers: any sinister omen, or slight sickness, is sufficient to make them abandon their camp and officers, with as much speed as if they had suffered a total defeat. All this want of discipline is owing, partly to the effeminate character of their generals, who are mostly chosen from among the eunuchs of the court, and partly to the neglect of rewarding and promoting merit. Bribery and favour commonly carry the highest posts in the army; so that we need not wonder at their being degenerated into such arrant cowards, that the chovas have been glad sometimes to beg the assistance of the Europeans, against an enemy inferior to them both in number and strength.

Poor soldiers.

Shipping described.

Their naval force consists of flat-bottomed barks and vessels of various sizes; fit only to sail along these coasts, but altogether unfit to venture far on those boisterous seas, or on any long voyages. The largest of these vessels have no other artillery than a single four pounder mounted on the fore-part: they have no masts, or at best but one, which they are obliged to take down as often as the wind

[e] Dampier. & al. sup. citat.

proves

proves a little more boisterous than usual, and have recourse to their oars, which are commonly from sixteen to twenty-four. The soldiers row the vessels, and are quite naked, except a piece of black cloth which goes round their middle, and is brought up between their thighs. They work standing, and keep exact time with their oars; there being always one on the deck, who strikes upon a small gong or bell, or on a wooden instrument, to regulate their motions [f].

Manner of rowing.

The soldiery is dispersed, not only through all the sea-ports, but into inland towns and villages, where they keep a constant watch over all that passes. The same vigilance they exert on all the roads, so that no stranger can pass without strict examination.

The roads carefully guarded against Jesuits and strangers.

If any difference or quarrel happens to rise so high as to be brought before a magistrate, they have a singular way of terminating it, by condemning the offender to treat the injured person with a quantity of arrack and a fowl, or a small porker, that by feasting merrily together they may drown all animosity. But if the dispute be about a debt, they often condemn the poor insolvent to a severer punishment, by delivering him up to the creditor's mercy, who detains him under the greatest hardships, of labour, hunger, and stripes, till the debt is paid. In cases of misdemeanor, the offender is condemned either to wear a heavy clog chained to his leg or the wooden kanghe, or collar about his neck, for a certain time, or undergo a bastonado according to the nature of the crime. The bastonado here is given on the bare buttocks, the offender lying flat upon his face on the ground. Theft is not deemed capital among them, but, according to the nature of it, is punished with the amputation of a joint, or of a whole limb. The last corporal punishment worth mentioning, is that of those who are suspected to have set fire to houses, either wilfully or through negligence. As it is very difficult for the master of the house where the fire happens, to clear himself of being guilty of it in one sense or other, he is condemned to be exalted in a chair twelve or fourteen feet high, reared up before the place where the house stood, with his head bare in the scorching sun for three days or more, as the offence is thought to be owing to design or neglect [g].

A merry way of compounding quarrels.

Severity to debtors.

Inferior punishment.

Against burning of houses.

[f] Dampier, ub. supr. p. 79. Baron, & al. ub. sup.

[g] Dampier, ubi supra, p. 79. Baron & al. ubi supra.

Murder how punished.

Murder is punished with decapitation. As soon as the criminal's condemnation is confirmed, he is led either to the place where the fact was committed, or else before his own house, and seated upon the ground with his face towards it, and his legs stretched out at full length. The executioner comes behind him with a naked scimetar, and with a back stroke severs his head at one blow from his body, with such dexterity that it falls into his lap, whilst his body falls backwards on the ground. A large sum, properly applied, often procures indemnity, or mitigation of punishment, even for the greatest offender; so that few, except the poorer sort, are ever punished with death [h]. The truth is, all those civil officers are chosen from among the eunuchs of the chova's court, and are so greedy of gain, that there is no extortion nor corruption they will not stoop to exercise. There is hardly a governor, judge, or magistrate, but what must be of that class, to attain any post, either in the army or government. Insomuch that many an ambitious man hath submitted to the loss of his virility, in order to raise himself in the one or the other.

Manner of beheading

Court eunuchs the ministers and officers.

Why such are chosen by the king.

Court preferments are chiefly bestowed on eunuchs, because the king becomes heir to all their wealth after their death; there being but little money in the kingdom, but what falls into the claws of those harpies; so that they are in some sense no better than spunges to him, by whose means he gets it all in time into his own coffers, leaving only such small part, as he thinks fit to be distributed among the relations of the deceased. On this account it is, that they are suffered to bear such extraordinary sway at court, that the palace gates are opened to them at all hours. They present all the requests and petitions from the inferior ministers to the chova, and answer them in his name; after they have represented the case more or less favourably to him, according as they have been paid for their good offices. They are usually sent upon public embassies, or employed in private negotiations: in a word, they ingross the king's confidence, and all the means of amassing wealth by the oppression of the people [h].

and hated by the people.

The subjects heavily taxed.

Every subject above the age of eighteen, is obliged to pay the chova a kind of land-tax, greater or less, according to his circumstances, and the fertility of his lands; from which however, all the princes of the royal blood,

[h] See Letters edifiant, vol. xxiv. p. 145, & seq. Vid. & Dampier, & al. sup citat. [i] Dampier, ubi sup. p. 85.

all

all the civil and military officers, and the literati are exempt; so that the whole burden falls upon the labouring part. This tax is commonly paid in kind twice a year, or soon after the two harvests; and even where the land chances to be naturally barren, the unhappy inhabitants are not exempt from furnishing a certain quantity of grass or herbage for the nourishment of the king's elephants and horses; all which his subjects are obliged to convey to the royal magazines at Chacaw, let their dwelling be at ever so great distance from that capital. They are moreover bound to a yearly servitude, which consists in mending the high-ways, repairing the ramparts of towns and fortresses, the royal palaces, and other public structures; even the tradesmen and artificers are obliged to bear their share in these public works, for six months in the year, either in person, or by hiring a substitute. Every governor of a province, and every mandarin, magistrate, and officer of the kingdom, is obliged once a year to renew the oath of allegiance to the chova, in the most public manner. This ceremony is performed by cutting the throat of a fowl, and receiving the blood in a bason that is filled with arrac. Every one in their turn having repeated aloud his profession of loyalty, drinks a small glass full of the arrac; and this, among them, is esteemed one of the most solemn and obligatory ceremonies, by which they can bind themselves; and is for that reason frequently used upon divers other occasions, either of a public or private nature [1].

Subject to other hard duties.

Oaths taken to the chova once a year.

Upon the demise of the chova, all the chief officers and ministers of state repair to the royal palace, where they array his successor in a Chinese habit, mount him upon an elephant richly caparisoned, and bring him into one of the public courts, where they have erected a throne under a stately pavillion. Having placed him upon it, they fall prostrate upon their faces and pay their first homage to him; then they stand up, and, with uplifted hands and arms, promise to be faithful to him, till death. The new king causes a certain number of wedges of gold and silver to be distributed among them, according to their respective ranks; upon which he is solemnly proclaimed by the fire of the artillery, the sound of drums, and acclamations. The ceremonies of inauguration are in point of magnificence and profusion, equalled by nothing but the funeral

Inauguration of the new ones.

[1] Dampier, & al. sup. citat.

of

Rich attire. Homages. of the deceased monarch. The body is embalmed with the most costly gums, arrayed in the most sumptuous attire, and exposed to view in a rich room of state, during the space of sixty-five days, to receive the homage of his whole court, officers of provinces both civil and military, and lastly of the rest of his subjects, to whom access is equally permitted. He is served every day with variety of meats, which when taken away are given to the priests and the poor; and all rejoicings are suspended, excepting those of the new king's inauguration. These are some of the mournful ceremonies preceding his interment; all which are performed with the utmost decency and splendor, the generalissimo having from the first day after the king's demise settled the whole ceremonial.

Three large bells, hung in one of the towers of the palace, are tolled incessantly night and day, and all the regal insignia of the deepest mourning are every where *Mourning.* displayed. The king himself, and all his nobles, after his inauguration is over, appearing in a coarse cotton habit of a purple colour, and with straw bonnets on their heads, attended by the royal family of both sexes, repair often in a day to the room of state to pay their mournful devoirs to the corpse, by deep prostrations, burning perfumes, and other tokens of respectful grief. All this while the roads and lanes, through which the funeral procession is to pass, are preparing, from the palace to the dock where the royal galley rides, which is to receive his body, which is about two days journey, and are lined on both sides *Interment.* with purple calico, which when the ceremony is over is given to the bonzas.

The king, the princes, and princesses of the blood, and all the nobles, mandarins, and officers civil and military, attend on foot, the funeral procession, which lasts seventeen days, in the following order: two ushers of the bed-chamber *Procession.* proceed with their maces, and proclaim the king's titles all the way. Next follow twelve chief officers of the galley which is to receive the corpse. Then come the officers of the court, each according to his rank, preceded by the master of the horse. Next to them come twelve of the king's horses, their bridles, saddles, and other furniture, adorned with the richest embroidery of gold and silver, each led by two court pages. These are followed by twelve elephants, the four first carrying each a standard-bearer, with colours displayed; the four next have towers on their backs; in each of them are placed a number of musketeers,

teers, armed with their fire-locks and accoutrements; the four laſt, which are thoſe which the deceaſed king uſed to ride on when he went to war, carry each a different cage, ſuch as he uſed to ſit in, one with glaſs windows, another like a lattice, and all of them with different roofs exquiſitely wrought. Then come the eight ſtags which draw the royal hearſe, each led by an officer of the king's guards. The new king marches next with his brother, if he hath one, ſurrounded by a band of muſicians; and followed by ſix princeſſes, carrying various meats and drinks for the deceaſed, and attended each by two ladies, and another band of muſic. Next follow the four governors of the provinces, with each a ſtaff on his ſhoulder, to which hangs a bag of gold, and another with rich perfumes, the preſents of theſe provinces to their deceaſed king, to ſerve him in the next world. After theſe appear two large chariots drawn by eight horſes, and led by eight men, in which are coffers full of gold and ſilver, and other valuables for the ſame end. The whole is cloſed with the reſt of the king's officers, and multitudes of his ſubjects. *Preſents.*

When the proceſſion arrives at the dock, the corpſe is conveyed with a mournful pomp into the galley, which is drawn up the river a conſiderable way, till it comes to a deſart country, where the body is taken out, and carried to ſome particular ſpot, by ſix faithful eunuchs, who have the care of interring it, and are ſworn never to diſcover the place where it is depoſited. *Grave in a deſart unknown.*

Father Marini hath given the public a long deſcription of the funeral obſequies of king Ta-tha-ty-twong, who died in 1675, to which we refer our readers *. *Some farther account from Marini.*

With reſpect to the origin, antiquity, and hiſtory of the Tonquineſe, we have little to ſay. They were wholly ignorant of the art of writing, till they learned it from the Chineſe four or five centuries ago, at fartheſt: ſo that whatever they have ventured to commit to writing, ſince they have had the uſe of their characters, concerning the hiſtory of former ages, appears to be no other than a heap of traditions, intermixed with fable, which caſt an impenetrable obſcurity on the origin and antiquity of their nation.

If we can believe the Chineſe, the Tonquineſe formed a kind of republic under their own ethnarchs, until the year 1956 after the flood, when being oppreſſed with a *The Chineſe account of them.*

* Marini Relat de Tonquin, cap. 15.

grievous

grievous famine, they sent an embassy to the Chinese monarch, who then was stiled the *Son of Heaven*, and the *Father of the Seasons*, in hopes that he would open the windows of heaven, and send them rain, to restore to their lands their pristine fertility. That monarch's uncle and prime minister rejected their petition, under pretence that a nation which was tributary to the Chinese empire, and had refused to pay the usual homage to its monarchs, did not deserve that they should interest themselves in its behalf, and sent them away without any audience from the emperor. But this fact is contradicted by the annals which the Tonquinese pretend to have ever since the year of the world 3012.

contradicted by their own.

Their various names.

They call their country Ang-nam, which signifies *Eastern rest*, and Tong-king, or *Eastern court*. They likewise affect to call their kingdom Day-viet, which in their language is equivalent to that of Day-myn, which signifies a *kingdom of brightness*, and is one of those which the Chinese give to their own, exclusive of all others [a]. Upon which account, most likely, they give the Tonquinese the nick-name of Xic-qui, or *devils*; they being remarkable above all other Indians for the redness of their lips, occasioned by their constant chewing of betel. However, it is not improbable, that the name of Tong-king was given to this kingdom by the Chinese monarchs, when they had reduced it into a province of their empire, and had extended their conquests as far as Siam, which was then their chief residence: for in that sense only could it be styled by them their Tong-king, or *Eastern court*, for it then lay eastward of them; whereas since they abandoned their conquests, and retired to their old dominions, it lies south and south-west from them.

Probably of Indian extraction.

Their first monarchy.

Tong-king doth not appear to have taken the form of a monarchical government, till the son or nephew of Shinnong, the second emperor of China, made himself master of that country.

Impatient under the yoke.

So ill did they brook their subjection, that it was with the greatest difficulty and condescension to their intractable temper, that he by degrees brought them to live contented under it. He complied as much as possible with their manners, that he might bring them over to his own: he and his wives assumed Tonquinese names; and added to his own the title of wong, or *king*. By these means he

[a] Marini, ubi supra, chap. i.

at

at length brought them to acknowlege him for their sovereign, and left the crown to his son.

The succession passed in his family through a number of generations, till one of the Chinese monarchs resolved to subdue it under his own dominion. The army he sent against them was numerous, and commanded by twelve generals, who, after a long and bloody opposition, obliged the Tonquinese to submit. The twelve captains had no sooner reduced them, than they agreed to divide the kingdom into twelve provinces; each declaring himself independent, and assuming the title of king.

Subdued afresh.

Divided into twelve kingdoms.

This new divided government had not long continued in that form, before a young shepherd found means to restore the freedom of his country; for which signal service he was raised to the throne, by the universal voice of his countrymen, and became the worthy head of a new monarchy. After this young prince had held the sceptre ten years, the Chinese monarch caused him to be assassinated, and reduced that kingdom once more under his yoke. From that period, their records speak of nothing but new and frequent revolutions, for the space of several centuries successively; one while the Chinese tyrannising over them; another time the natives bravely shaking off the yoke, and driving those invaders out of their dominions, restoring their ancient form of government, living under the protection of their own princes, whom they elected from amongst their countrymen, and as frequently, from their natural inconstancy, deposing them, and electing new ones in their room. This is the best account which our author could meet with in the records of those remote times; which agree so far well enough with the Chinese annals, which represent their monarchy as in a most flourishing state, and in its largest extent, during the space of four or five hundred years before Christ.

A shepherd recovers their liberty.

Assassinated.

Various revolutions.

Baron, who was himself a Tonquinese, tells us, that the first king mentioned by the Tonquinese records, was named Ding, and reigned about two hundred years before Christ. He was, according to them, raised to the supreme power by a troop of banditti. The circumstances relating to this revolution are variously related by the Tonquinese writers; but all agree that he was massacred by his subjects, on account of his insupportable tyranny. His death was followed by a long series of wars; which ended at length in the election of a new king, named Le-day-han; in whose reign, the Chinese, taking advantage of the

Their first monarch, according to Baron.

the dismal state to which the country was reduced, entered it with a powerful army; and this, says our author [m], is the first time that any Chinese are mentioned in their annals to have invaded their dominions: though, from what we have lately observed, it is more than probable that they had made several irruptions into it long before that time. However that be, they all agree that they overran the whole kingdom in the reign of the above mentioned Le-day-han, who, being a martial prince, repulsed them with great bravery and success, and obtained several victories over them; but was not able to drive them out of sundry strong holds and passes, which they had made themselves masters of.

And first subjection to China.

After his death, the Tonquinese elected a new monarch, named Ly-bal-vie, a man famed for his conduct and intrepid bravery; who having defeated them in several obstinate engagements, had at length the fortune and glory of driving the rest out of his dominions. The crown continued in his family during five or six generations; and descended at last, for want of male heirs, to an only daughter; who, the better to secure it to herself, married a young nobleman of a considerable family, and associated him as partner of her throne. But the preference she shewed him, raised the envy of another grandee, named Ho, who rebelled against her, and took the field with a numerous army. Having defeated her husband in a pitched battle, he seized upon the crown, and caused the princess and her spouse to be put to death. This horrid deed was followed by so many others of the like bloody and tyrannic nature, that he became detested by the whole nation. They unanimously resolved to rid themselves of such a monster; but not being able to cope with him in the field, unfortunately agreed to call in the Chinese to their assistance. These readily embraced the opportunity of re-entering Tong-king, and came with a very formidable army; which had no sooner freed them from their old yoke, than they subjected them to what was still more grievous: the usurper was indeed destroyed, but the Tonquinese only exchanged one slavery for another; and were again reduced to the necessity of receiving a viceroy from their new lords, who quickly overturned their old form of government, and forced them to submit to the laws and customs of the Chinese.

Second king elected.

Drives the Chinese out.

Failure of male issue.

The new usurpation of Ho,

ended by the murder of Ho, and the calling in of the Chinese, who reduce them under their yoke.

[m] Collect. Voy. ubi sup.

It

It was not long, however, before their impatience under a foreign power roused them to an open revolt. They appeared in arms under the conduct of a brave officer, called Ly; and the enterprize succeeded to their wish. He caused all the Chinese forces to be put to the sword, not exempting even the viceroy from the common massacre; whilst the emperor, his master, by the Tonquinese records named Humveon, was wholly taken up at home with quelling the civil wars, which reigned in several parts of the empire, and in no condition to assist, much less to revenge the indignity offered to his substitute. Ly, taking the advantage of the present favourable juncture, easily forced that monarch to conclude a disadvantageous peace. He himself was crowned and acknowleged king of Tong-king, upon the easy terms of paying a small tribute, and doing homage to the Chinese emperor.

A young shepherd restores their liberty.

Forces the Chinese to a peace.

Becomes tributary.

This treaty, which was signed A. D. 1200, hath been for the most part inviolably observed by both sides. The Tonquinese kings have ever since carefully sent an embassy every three years to the Chinese court, with the usual homage and tribute (A): and the Chinese on their part always receive them with great pomp and ceremony.

The tribute how paid.

Chinese ambassadors at Tong-king.

The Chinese emperors have for a great number of years had their ambassadors at Tong-king, who assume great state and prerogative. They never vouchsafe to visit the chova, but oblige him to wait upon them at their own palace, upon all emergencies, and to receive their instructions from them. Another instance of subjection they have been forced to submit to is, that their new chova must be confirmed by the Chinese monarch, before he can exert the regal authority, and must receive the seals from thence, which he is to make use of during his reign [b].

These additional prerogatives (as we may justly suppose them, seeing it is altogether unlikely, that the brave and

Chinese monarchs power in Tong-king.

[b] Baron, Marini, Dampier, & al. sup. citat.

(A) Their tribute consists of a variety of rich presents of gold and silver, and other valuables; some for the emperor, others for his prime and favourite wives and ministers. Among those of the first sort, are some statues of silver and gold, in a Tonquinese dress, and supplicating posture, supposed to be in memory of their bloody massacre of his viceroy, and of his Chinese troops (1).

(1) Baron, ubi supra.

warlike

warlike Ly, the first of this dynasty, would have ever agreed to them, or that the emperor would have insisted upon them, at a time when the bad condition of his affairs obliged him to procure a peace at any rate, from this victorious and successful prince) may be therefore justly deemed to be of much later date than that treaty; and where can we find a more proper opportunity for such new encroachments, than that which the usurpation of the chovas afforded them; who, to maintain themselves in it, would in all likelihood have submitted to much harder terms, to ingratiate themselves with the Chinese monarchs, and prevent their molesting them in their new dignity. But this we do not find to have been the case of the bovas, or the descendants of Ly; who, on the contrary, filled the Tonquinese throne, during two whole centuries, with great glory, and with an absolute sway, and without any other token of foreign submission than the triennial tribute and homage.

This is all, however, that we can learn from their records in general. As to any particulars of those reigns, during the two centuries above mentioned, they either are wholly silent, or their account, if any mention is made of them, is not yet come to the knowlege of any European writer; so that we are insensibly brought to the most remarkable period of the Tonquinese history, that in which the supreme authority was wrested from the bovas, or the descendants of Ly, and engrossed by a new set of usurpers, who now exercise it under the title of chova, or general [c].

The revolution caused by the chova.

We have already hinted, that the indolent and effeminate princes of Tong-king, in order to revel the more freely in their delights, committed the entire government of this kingdom and Kochin-china, their dominions, to two favourite generals, and suffered them to tyrannize with an uncontrouled power; the consequence of which was the loss of both kingdoms. The general of Kochin-china revolted first; and his success soon encouraged his colleague to follow his example in Tong-king. This last kingdom had already suffered so much from the cruel extortions of their governors, that the subjects had been long ripe for a revolt; and a great deal of blood had been shed in some of the provinces, when a simple fisherman,

[c] Baron, Marini, Dampier, & al. sup. citat.

named

named Mak, found means to be chosen head of the malcontents. Having gathered a numerous army under his banner, he quickly defeated the chova, and caused himself to be proclaimed king, about the year 1400. He had not however long enjoyed his new dignity, before he was stripped of it by a new competitor named Tring; who, to give the better colour to his enterprize, gave out, that he took up arms in defence of the royal family of Ly. He accordingly caused one of the young princes of it to be proclaimed bova, and to be publicly invested with the regal dignity. This step was the more conformable to the minds and wishes of the whole nation, as they still retained the highest veneration for their princes of that race, and therefore expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect of seeing an end put to their civil wars and bloodshed, by the restoration of one of that noble family to the throne [d].

Mak chosen head of the malcontents.

Defeated by Tring.

His stratagem.

His design however was only to give him the mere title and shadow of bova, and to engross the whole authority in his own hands; and in this attempt he expected nothing less than an universal opposition from the whole nation. But his chief dependence was on a brother-in-law, named Hoa-ving, son to the governor of the province of Tingwa, a man in great power, who had a numerous army under his command. This old mandarin, whether from an inclination to the loyal measures which the artful Tring pretended to pursue; or, which is at least as likely, from some more selfish motives, not only assisted him with all the forces under his command, but had given him his daughter in marriage, and at his death made him sole guardian to his only son Hoa-ving. This young man, whom his politic brother-in-law had all along fed with the hopes that the forces lent to him by his father, were only designed to settle him on the Tonquinese throne, quickly perceived himself over-reached. He saw that Tring made no other use of them, than to raise himself to the supreme dignity, of which he meant to deprive the young bova he had lately set upon the throne. This consideration occasioned a grievous breach between them, which did not, however, hinder the chova from pursuing his scheme, in spite of all opposition; wherein he succeeded so well, that in a very little time he got himself confirmed in his usurpation by all the grandees in the kingdom.

Conceals his treason.

Assisted by Hoa-ving.

But outwits him.

Hoa-ving taking up up arms against him.

[d] Baron, Dampier, Chevrieir, & al. sup. citat.

subdues Kochin-china, and becomes king of it.

Hoa-ving, fired with indignation at his disappointment, not only refused to pay him homage; but recalling as many of his father's troops as he could gain over, turned his arms against him. However, finding himself unable to cope with his rival, by this time too firmly settled in his new dignity, he went and employed them in the conquest of Kochin-china; in which expedition he met with better success, and got himself proclaimed chova of that kingdom, in imitation of his brother-in-law. This last step served only to widen the breach, and kindle a war between them, which was carried on with the utmost vigour as long as they lived, though without any considerable advantage on either side. Neither did it end with their lives; their successors inherited their mutual hatred, and their subjects gradually imbibed the same prejudice against each other, which continues to this day [c].

Wars between those two kingdoms.

[c] Baron, Dampier, Chevrier.

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